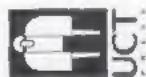


GERMANY'S GENOCIDE OF THE HERERO:
KAISER WILHELM II, HIS GENERAL,
HIS SETTLERS, HIS SOLDIERS

JEREMY SARKIN



JO JAMES CURREY

*Germany's Genocide of the Herero
Kaiser Wilhelm II, His General, His Soldiers, His Soldiers*

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FOREWORD BY THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE HERERO

Just as the human predicament transcends all boundaries of time and place, the eternal facts of life revolve around problems of living together that every individual, community and nation must face. Perhaps we should be cognizant of the true meaning of life and community and the inevitability of wrong behaviour being a precarious foundation to lay any cornerstone of civilisation on. A century has now passed since scholars began to realise the need of interpreting this particular episode in history and to scientifically analyse the event from an unbiased perspective. It has become critical to expose the insidious social mechanisms and manipulations perpetrated by the foreign occupiers of Namibia and thereafter to apply legal ramifications against the guilty. Allowing the truth to come to the fore and rendering a legal and moral remedy thereupon.

It seems that most of the seven deadly sins were manifest in the collective psyche of the colonialist of that era.

The German body-politic planned these events and formed financial and political alliances to gain access to land and resources. Thereafter an insidious game of monopoly ensued. The cost of human and social devastation was an irrelevant consideration, in the occupier's stratagem. The anthropologists of the time held closely the social Darwinian concept of evolution, permitting the racist seed to germinate the colonialists' views of the natives of the land as sub-human and backward. The anthropologist's role was to scientifically legitimise these cataclysmic events.

From a race-relationship perspective, this event seems to emphasise all the contradictions and moral dilemmas that continue to exist in the Euro-African diplomatic discourse. One might deduce that the examination and application of a remedial process would be of pre-eminent importance in today's global dialect. The negative psychosis that existed in the colonial *force majeure* appears to be the penultimate racial reticulation event in Africa.

The colonialist's primary objective was to plunder and exterminate if challenged.

When the German colonialists were confronted by effective resistance from the ill-equipped but gallant Herero tribesmen, the result was extreme paranoia. The Kaiser and his government were forced into a state of embarrassment, their military prowess and reputation were in jeopardy. Loss of face amongst other European nations had to be arrested.

The perceived audacity of the Herero resistance against a self-absorbed German nation resulted in the Kaiser dispatching their most feared General, a man of ruthless resolve, General Lothar von Trotha, who had garnered a reputation for himself in conducting brutal campaigns against Africans in German East Africa. General von Trotha and the military reinforcements were promptly deployed. Thereupon the infamous *Verstehungsgehalt*, or extermination order to annihilate every man, woman and child of Herero descent, was promulgated.

The Herero genocide in 1904 was the inaugural holocaust, succeeded by the Jewish Holocaust in the 1940s and enacted by the same sovereign power. The latter was implemented as a packaged theory acquired from the first genocidal experience. The Aryan supremacy ideology of Hitler was acquired from the author of eugenics and the incumbent Chancellor of Berlin University during the Second World War. Professor Eugen Fischer's experimentation on the human brain using the Nama and Herero as guinea pigs is an appalling testimony to human arrogance. As to what the findings of the University of Berlin in this regard were, the question still remains unanswered.

Germany paid recompense to the Jewish people for the atrocities exerted on them during the Second World War. It is expected that they do the same for the Herero.

Professor Jeremy Sarkin's treatise is intelligible and lucid in its vocabulary, suggests formidable objectives into healing the callous brutality of the past. The pen that traced these lines belongs to a man whose philosophical background is deeply rooted in the behavioural sciences. The direction and emphasis of this work expresses veneration for a people who encountered gruesome sufferings and have survived. Not only is the author writing from a historical perspective, legal precedent and moral criteria, he is also imbued with political introspection. The author graphically paints the ordeal of the Nama and Herero of Namibia and with ingenuity contextualises the amorphousness of the extermination order with the socio-economic imbalances of the present and critically shapes the thinking for the future society.

At this juncture in human evolutionary history, the world has become one interconnected matrix and Africa has been co-opted into the global marketplace. She has now evolved and is a target market for the Global Industrial movement.

Social blindness and arrogance is one of the afflictions of our time. Of course, the German-Herero saga is not yet consummated. We have been compromised in growth and influence. Our relatives were set upon by savages with hunting rifles, muskets and war machinery; we were thought of as sub-human and inferior.

The dynamic that was introduced by the European, in yonder years, was incomprehensible to our ancestors. The discernment of the modern moral consciousness is now a science and the world's citizenry is in transition.

Now we are able to elicit the co-operation of dexterous, fine human beings, who are endowed by nature to be masters of truth, who do not suffer from political partisanship. We can therefore scrutinise and apply to law and expose the issue to remedy and recompense.

Professor Jeremy Sarkin is one such man: we view his genius as a gift from Nature herself. We congratulate him and salute his scholarly expertise. We thank him for all his work. In defining the boundaries of human behaviour, in the context of the attempted extermination of our people with the express intent of revealing the truth about this catastrophic event.

Herero Paramount Chief Ntamina Rruukoko

Windhoek, Namibia

September 2010

INTRODUCTION

... there are crimes which men can neither punish nor forgive. If men the impossible was made possible it became unpunishable, unforgivable absolute evil which could no longer be understood and explained by the end motives of self-interest, greed, covetousness, resentment, lust for power and conviction, and which therefore anger could not revenge, love could not endure, friendship could not forgive.

— Hannah Arendt¹

Germany's colonisation of Namibia, then German South West Africa (GSWA), encompasses one of the worst atrocities ever: the genocide of between 80 000 and 100 000 indigenous Herero people at the beginning of the twentieth century.² Tens of thousands of people — men, women and children — were killed in a very short period of time. Water wells were sealed and poisoned³ to prevent access to water.⁴ Thousands, including women and children were condemned to slavery in the German military and civil institutions, as well as for private companies and on German farms.⁵ Surviving Herero women were forced to become 'comfort women' for the

¹ Arendt, H. quoted in Baehr, I. (ed) (2004) *The Portable Hannah Arendt*. New York: Penguin, 126.

² On the legal issues and claims under international law see Sarkin, J. (2009) *Colonial Genocide and Reparations Claims in the 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904–1908*. Westport: Praeger Security International.

³ The 1869 Hague Convention, to which Germany was a signatory, prohibited the use of poison (article 21(a)) of the Regulations contained in the Annex to the Convention.

⁴ See further Sarkin, J. (2009) *Colonial Genocide and Reparations Claims in the 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904–1908*. Westport: Praeger Security International.

⁵ See further Goldblatt, I. (1971) *History of South West Africa. From the beginning of the nineteenth century*. Cape Town: Juta.

settlers and soldiers.⁸ German geneticists came to the country to perform racial studies of alleged Herero inferiority. Herero skulls and skeletons were shipped to Germany, supposedly for further study. Various concentration camps were established⁹ in which the mortality rate was more than 45 percent.¹⁰

Evidence of these Herero killings was seen for several years after 'long lines of white bones lay bleaching in the sun, marking the track the stricken people had tried to follow across the wilderness'.¹¹



Nama and Herero prisoner-of-war camp, Alte Feste, in background, 1914

⁸ Winifred Hoernle wrote in her diary on 10 October 1912: 'It made me quite miserable, however, to hear of goings on at a German police camp and I really got quite *Aufgewirgt* over it. Each man has what he calls his *Bambur*, a young native girl whose duty it is to wash his clothes and to fulfill what they call the *Erucas affäre*.' In Carstens, P., Klinghardt, G. & West, M. (1987) (eds) *Troile in ihr Herdland: The anthropological field diaries of Winifred Hoernle*. Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 41.

⁹ 'The company *Olant Muan AG* admitted in their hundredth-year anniversary publication in 2000 that the colonial authorities supplied labour to German businesses during the Herero war, which the businesses used as forced labour. In that publication one paragraph reads: 'Because of the Herero War it was difficult to get enough employees to build the railway. We were happy about every Herero who registered voluntarily. The Government sent us also prisoners of war (*Hereros*), 2000 men, 700 women and 400 children.' *Olant Muan Mineral 100th anniversary commemorative publication (1900-2000)*. Thus, there seems to be acceptance that even women and children were used as forced labour. In early 1904 Hereros working in Swakopmund were interned on two Woermann line ships anchored off the coast of the town for use as labour. See Ericksen, C.W. (2004) *The Angel of Death has descended violently among them: A study of Namibia's concentration camps and prisoners-of-war, 1904-08*. MA thesis (History), University of Namibia, chapter 2, 27. Arthur Koppel Company was involved in railway construction and used Herero slave labour for that purpose. Gwlad notes that the exodus of people after the concentration camps were closed caused Woermann Lines to be short of labour for loading their ships. Gwlad, J.-B. (1999) 'The road of the man called Love and the sack of Sero: The Herero-German War and the export of the Herero labour to the South African Rand', 40(1) *Journal of African History*, 21-40, 29.

¹⁰ Ericksen, C.W. (2003 August/September) 'Namibia's island of death', *New Africa*, 46.

¹¹ Eveleigh, W. (1915) *South-West Africa*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 134.

What is in this book?

This book examines these colonial atrocities in then GSWA. It explores the events within the context of GSWA as the only German colony considered for settlement and the only colony where settlement was actually attempted. This fact fundamentally coloured the events of the time.

The book deals with Germany's brutal march to achieve its goals in GSWA by any means possible in the relatively short period of Germany's colonial years, which stretched from 1850 to 1912¹², although Germany was present in GSWA before 1855. Although the Herero war appears to be

¹² To stop the annexation of the territory by the Cape of Good Hope, Chancellor von Bismarck announced, in 1858, that it was under the protection of Germany.

¹³ Germany occupied GSWA until World War I, but lost it when South African and British forces marched into the territory. In terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany formally lost its colonies in 1919.

the only 'genocide'¹² Germany conducted within its colonies, it exercised brutality in many. Yet the view that the events in GSWA were somehow an aberration persists. Of course, the Herero genocide and the atrocities committed against the Nama and the Damara are qualitatively different from other German perpetrations at the time in their scale and brutality, but the intent to kill thousands upon thousands of indigenous peoples in different parts of Germany's colonial empire is very apparent. Further, it is problematic to argue that the events in GSWA, while unique in scope, were an aberration. The Germans slaughtered thousands elsewhere, but their intent did not seem to be to wipe out an entire group as such and thus does not meet the definitional criteria of the term 'genocide'. However, given the evidence that hundreds of thousands of people were killed during certain German campaigns in some of its colonies, the Herero genocide is actually no aberration. It is certainly no anomaly in terms of the viciousness with which it was conducted and the extent to which unarmed civilians, including women and children, were executed. The Herero genocide was not an isolated incident, but a pervasive trend.

Germany's actions in the colonies are embedded in the historical context of the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, in which the colonial powers divided the lands of Africa among them and were determined to benefit from the spoils of their enterprise.¹³ In fact '[t]he' marginal role of Germany in the West's colonial past was tied to a desire to catch up with other colonial powers, which without a doubt led to a discarding of humanitarian principles in countries like Namibia.¹⁴ The bequest of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference that curved up Africa, imposing arbitrary borders that exist still today, has had major reverberations. This is especially true in terms of the conflicts that have racked the continent.¹⁵ The colonial legacy of land and other types of dispossession still plays out in very fundamental ways today.

¹² See further Sarkin, J. (2009) *Colonial Genocide and Reparations Claims in the 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904–1908*. Westport: Praeger Security International.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Niebuhr, C. (2003) 'Rethinking a problematic constellation: Postcolonialism and its Germanic contexts' 23 (1 & 2) *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 68, 69.

¹⁵ See Sarkin, J. (2009) Finding a solution for the problems created by the politics of identity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC): Designing a constitutional framework for peaceful co-operation'. In Konrad Adenauer Foundation (eds) *The Politics of Identity*. Pretoria: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

This study does not examine German colonialism in general or the reasons behind Germany's late entry into the colonial race, but it is important to note that Germany was the last European power to enter the colonial pursuit.¹⁶ In a very short period it acquired and lost Cameroon, German East Africa, GSWA, Togo, German New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, the Marshall Islands, Kiaochow from China (in 1898 and 1899), the Carolines, the Marianas and Palau Islands (purchased from Spain) and Western Samoa (in an exchange with Britain).¹⁷ By the turn of the twentieth century Germany's colonies comprised more than a million square miles, with an indigenous population of about 14 million and a German-settler population of 29,000.¹⁸ However, Germany never annexed as much territory as the other colonisers and this was a blow to the country's prestige. Critically for the Herero, the territories that Germany managed to obtain were not as valuable as those of the other European powers.¹⁹ This is significant as Germany's colonies, and GSWA in particular, must be seen in the context of Germany's desire, at least at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, to address emigration by developing another Germany in Africa. By the turn of the twentieth century, the notion that Germany was a nation with 'insufficient space' had developed.²⁰

GSWA was also regarded as important trade partner, especially in light of an increasing population in Germany that required food and employment. Additionally, creating a settlement colony provided an opportunity to maintain traditional German ways and values, which were declining due to modernisation. Settling Germans in a suitable colony made it possible to preserve 'pre-capitalist forms of life'.²¹ The idea was, therefore, to send people to cultivate crops and live a more traditional lifestyle.

Germany's acquisition and management of GSWA took place against the backdrop of the international politics of the time. Germany wanted to build its reputation and prestige as an important political power in Europe and the

¹⁶ Zimmerman, J. and Zeller, J. (2008) *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its aftermath*. Monmouth: Merlin Press.

¹⁷ Baunert, W. (2007) 'German imperialism in historical perspective'. In Kissel, A.J. & Gann, L.H. (eds) *Germania in the tropics: Essays on German colonial history*. New York/London: Greenwood Press, 131–164, 135.

¹⁸ Bullock, A.L.C. (1939) *Germany's colonial demands*. London: Oxford University Press, 2.

¹⁹ Adenauer, W.O. (1970) *Bismarck and British colonial policy: The problems of South West Africa 1883–1885* (2 edn). New York: Russell & Russell, v.

²⁰ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1900) *The Herero and the German South-West Africa 1894–1914*. D.J. (History). Pretoria: University of South Africa, 60.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

world. Acquiring colonies and developing settler communities, especially in GSWA, was an important part of this plan.⁸² Because Germany's international prestige was closely intertwined with its colonial power and wealth, it forcefully repelled any attempts by the local population to oust the settlers. Ironically, this very conduct caused Germany to become the first colonising power to lose its colonies.⁸³ At the conclusion of World War I, because of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, Germany lost its colonies.

Apart from international status, acquiring colonies was important for building national prestige and vindicating policies within Germany, but the attempt at achieving a large-scale settlement was 'at odds with reality'.⁸⁴ The number of settlers never reached the desired settlement demographics. However, for the current discussion, that is not of primary concern. More important is Germany's desire and attempt to establish a new homeland. The events of 1904 partly unfolded as they did because this dream was not translated into a reality.

This book does not examine the legal and socio-legal issues around these matters; that was the subject of a previous book, *Colonial Genocide and Reparations Claims in the 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904-1908*, published by Praeger Security International in 2009. The analysis in that book was that the events then were not only international crimes from a present-day perspective, but were international crimes at the time. Therefore, it was argued, reparations for what occurred are due to the victims today. The study viewed those atrocities in the context of the developing norms of reparations internationally, regionally and domestically and the development of historical claims in general. It appraised the Herero genocide events in light of the current critical legal issues regarding the extent to which international law affects historical claims for reparations. The book also examined the effect of the genocide on Namibia today and what the Herero are doing to attain redress. It explored the state of reparations theory and practice around the world, as well as the role of apologies in coming to terms with the past, referencing the apology Germany gave to the Herero community in 2004.

⁸² Bley, H. (1997) 'Social discord in South West Africa 1894-1904' In Gifford, P. & Loske, W.M.R. (eds) *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial rivalry and colonial rule* New Haven: Yale University, 607-630.

⁸³ Aylward, W.O. (1970) *Biocare and British colonial policy: The problems of South West Africa 1883-1886* (2 ed.) New York: Russell & Russell.

⁸⁴ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1991) *The Herero and the Herero: mentalities in German South West Africa 1884-1914*. DLIet (History). Pretoria: University of South Africa, 53.

Why the genocide was committed

One of the major questions addressed in this book is why the Herero were the target of genocide.⁸⁵ Why did Germany not commit genocide against other groups too, particularly those who rebelled against its rule in other territories? This study focuses on Germany's short colonial period and specifically its role in then GSWA. Germany's conduct in some of its other colonies is only examined to provide a comparative perspective to the treatment it meted out in GSWA.

The book contextualises the reasons for the genocide. For instance, it argues how the genocide can be understood in terms of the global milieu and the internal climate in Germany of the time and how these played out vis-à-vis Germany's goals in GSWA. The study contends that the genocide was not the work of one general from Germany or the practices of the German military in general, but that it was inexorably propelled by Germany's national goals at the time. The book will argue that the Herero genocide was linked to Germany's late entry into the colonial race, which led it to frenetically acquire multiple colonies all over the world within a very short time, using any means available, including ruthlessness. This study proposes two main reasons for the genocide and the subsequent ill-treatment of the Herero. The genocide was not perpetrated due to the existing military culture of the time, which generally quelled rebellions in this way. From 1871, due to the ideological evolution of the notion of *Kaiserreich*, a unique institutional structure developed, resulting in Germany's rise as an authoritarian state with a brutal military and ruthless military elite, which considered itself above the law. At the same time, it was a state with an increasingly powerful parliament elected by universal suffrage; a state keen at times on counterbalancing the authoritarian elements of the constitution.

However, the *Reichstag* often allowed the Kaiser and the military to conduct campaigns with little or no oversight. The state espoused 'self-discipline', as a system which, combined with a military culture of ruthlessness and brutality, explains the willingness of German troops to carry out the killings, but it should not be mistaken for the motivation behind the genocide.

The genocide was firstly meant to punish the Herero for impudently rebelling against German colonial rule and for supposedly killing Germans during the uprising at the beginning of 1904. This rebellion, and the inability to deal with it

⁸⁵ On the legal claims under international law see further Sarkin, J. (2009) *Colonial Genocide and Reparations Claims in the 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904-1908* Westport: Praeger Security International.

⁸⁶ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1991) *The Herero and the Herero: mentalities in German South West Africa 1884-1914*. DLIet (History). Pretoria: University of South Africa, 79 & 80.

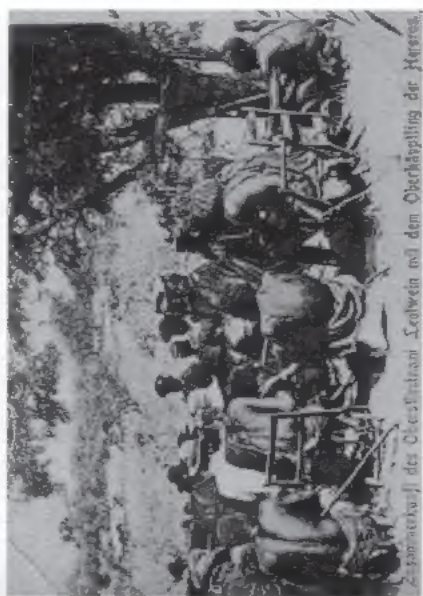
quickly and effectively, dented German prestige at home and abroad. The order for genocide was not only meant to deter any Herero survivors from further insurrection, but also to send a message to all the communities in GSWA and other colonies that rebellion in any form would not be tolerated.

Secondly, the genocide was a means to gain occupancy of Herero land and possession of their livestock. For a long time, Germany had desired more land in its favourite colony, as it wanted to expand the settlement of Germans in GSWA. Much was invested there and various measures were taken to persuade German settlers to go there. The intent was to create a new Germany in Africa, which would add prestige and honour to the Fatherland. GSWA was viewed as the most attractive of Germany's colonies, as it was relatively disease-free and there was much arable land and abundant cattle. The climate and living conditions were favourable and compared well with other parts of the Empire. The primary incentive for potential settlers would be the acquisition of farmland. Germany hoped that the promise of adequate land holdings would stem the continual migration in which settlers were opting for the United States and other countries. Still, Germany realised early on that it would not be able to deliver on this promise without peace and stability in GSWA. Land was needed not only to attract new settlers to the territory, but to appease the existing settler community, which was dissatisfied that its land holdings were too small to be economically productive (data on the sale of land at the time have been cited as evidence). At the time the majority of land in GSWA was not owned by German companies or settlers. It was occupied and owned by the indigenous groups. The settlers believed that the land ought to be emptied of these people so that settlers could establish farms. For the settlers the Herero farmlands became a confiscation target. Benjamin Madley notes that the policy of *landnahme* or 'creating a map scraped smooth', to facilitate dispossession and ethnic cleansing' occurred to permit the removal of the locals and the notion of 'empty' land and unworthiness, allowed genocide and dispossession to be rationalized.⁴⁷ From 1896, other types of land clearances or 'forced removals' followed: the land was needed for settler occupation and the authorities did their utmost to drive the Herero off it. The settlers were frustrated by Governor Theodor von Leutwein's⁴⁸ more moderate policy

97 Madley, B. (2009, June) Patterns of frontier genocide 1808–1910. The aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California and the Herero of Namibia. 6 (2) *Journal of Genocide Research*, 167–192, 168.

98 Theodor Gottlieb von Leutwein was *Landeshauptmann* from 1894 to 1898 and Governor from 1898 to 1905. Bley, H. (1967) 'Social discord in South West Africa 1894–1904'. In Gifford, P. & Louis, W.M.R. (eds) *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial rivalry and colonial rule*. New Haven: Yale University, 607–650, 607.

towards the indigenous communities and his protection, to some degree, of the needs and land of these communities. Given that GSWA operated largely as an isolated territory, Governor von Leutwein acted as the German supreme authority⁴⁹ and had significant control over policy in the territory. The settlers were angry and resentful because they believed that Governor Leutwein's policies were to their disadvantage. They criticised him and the administration vocally and openly and demanded that extreme measures be taken against the Herero. The settlers wanted the Herero to lose their land and cattle and wished to destroy their tribal system so that they could be used as labour. The settlers consequently embarked on a vociferous campaign both within GSWA and Germany to change the policies in GSWA.



1903 postcard of Governor Leutwein with Herero group

They received support from various quarters and, when the uprising began, Germany had clearly decided to deal with the Herero community in no uncertain terms. The timing of events show that this was no coincidence, from

99 Bley, H. (1967) 'Social discord in South West Africa 1894–1904'. In Gifford, P. & Louis, W.M.R. (eds) *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial rivalry and colonial rule*. New Haven: Yale University, 607–650, 608.

1905 a concerted effort was made to attract settlers and Germany's Colonial Department established a formal colonisation policy for the territory.³⁰

The seminal influence of the German view of race, racial identity and racial superiority on the unfolding events cannot be overlooked. This book shows how the Germans, in their attempts to confirm their belief that their race was superior, were preoccupied with race identification and the origins of races. In addition to regarding the Herero as inferior and consequently being indifferent to their status and position, a colonial propaganda campaign in GSWA and Germany depicted the Herero as the initiators of a 'race war' during which they apparently indiscriminately killed many German settlers and mutilated their bodies. This was clearly designed to gain support in Germany for the policy that would soon be carried out by General von Trotha. He insisted all along that Germany was fighting a 'race war'.³¹ However, the truth and extent of the alleged Herero atrocities on settlers and German troops are questionable. It seems that the Herero avoided killing women and children.³² The alleged widespread mutilation of German corpses seems to have been mere propaganda. The Rhenish Missionary, August Kuhlman, investigated the majority of such reports and found them to be false. Even Hauptmann Francke, in a 1920 lecture, stated the allegations had no basis. While it is possible that there were such cases, it seems that the allegations were predominantly racist propaganda.³³ It is likely that such cases were publicised to promote a racial dimension to the events in GSWA and so ensure support for the intended actions of the German troops. It does seem, though, that the abuse and mutilation came mostly from the German forces. Bringing back severed hands and other body parts was a method approved by the field commanders, sanctioned by German officials and uniformly carried out by soldiers under German control as a way of proving to their commanders that they had killed them.

³⁰ Erichsen, C.W., citing to Voelke, R.A. (1988) 'German colonialism and the South West Africa Company, 1894-1914', 80. *Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series*, Athens OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 88.

³¹ Schrank, G.I. (1975) *German South West Africa: Social and economic aspects of its history 1884-1914*. PhD thesis (History). New York University, 162.

³² The reality of civilian deaths was very different. On the plaque at the memorial outside the *dite Fete* in Windhoek to fallen Germans between 1903 and 1908, civilian casualties are listed as 110 men, four women and one child. Sole notes that Maberero specifically forbade the killing of women and children. Sole, T.E. (1906, December). 'The Soutwestafrika Denkmünze and the South West African campaigns of 1903-1908', 123. *Military History Journal*, 19-23. The fact that so few women and children were killed seems to verify the policy of not killing them.

³³ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1929) *The Herero-land mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914*. DLAH (History). Pretoria: University of South Africa, 900.

who they said they had.³⁴ In an unpublished manuscript titled 'The Germans in Africa',³⁵ Raphael Lemkin, thought by many to be the author of the word *genocide* and the impetus behind the Genocide Convention, notes that before the events in GSWA in 1904, mutilations practiced by soldiers against the indigenous population were sanctioned by the German officials, who ordered the soldiers to bring back the ears of those they killed to prove the number killed. Lemkin writes that because the ears of women were used to increase the numbers, German commander Dominik ordered that the heads of those killed be brought back instead. The difficulty of accomplishing this led to the severing of the genitals of those killed instead. This practice so horrified the British government that it complained to the German Ambassador in London in 1902. The Imperial Chancellor wrote to the Governor of the Cameroons asking for an end to this practice and 'to abstain in all instances from illegal acts and cruelties towards the natives and during any necessary punitive expeditions to abstain from all habits incompatible with the civilised state, such as the mutilation of corpses'.³⁶

The facts indicate that it was the Germans who killed women and children in large numbers during this time in GSWA. When August Bebel, a member of the German Parliament, was told 'unsatisfactorily' that women and children were being killed because the combatants were using them as shields,³⁷ this was met with scepticism. There was no denial that women and children were being killed. In fact, when these atrocities became known in Germany, Chancellor von Bulow demanded an explanation. Not denying the occurrences, the Chief of the General Staff, Alfred Graf von Schlieffen, replied that women had taken part in the fighting and 'were the chief instigators of the cruel and awful tortures'.³⁸ Chancellor von Bulow, at the time recognising that problematic conduct was occurring, argued that such activity 'will demolish Germany's reputation among the civilised nations and feed foreign agitation against us'.³⁹ When Chancellor von Bulow attempted at the end of 1904 to revoke

³⁴ 'Africans' (1917) *The Prussian loss in Africa*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 21.

³⁵ The manuscript is 22 pages long and deals with a number of rebellions, and the manner in which they were dealt in German-occupied territories in Africa. It is to be found at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, the Raphael Lemkin papers, Box 6, Folder 9.

³⁶ Lemkin, R. (undated) 'The Germans in Africa', found at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, the Raphael Lemkin papers, Box 6, Folder 9, 46.

³⁷ Bridgman, J. (1981) *The revolt of the Herero*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 46.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 107.

³⁹ Hall, I.V. (2005) *Absolute destruction: Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 64.

had been a way to settle the conflict and ease more, if not all, of the animosity.

There were, of course, instances when mutual tensions provided fertile ground for conflict. In GSWA the pressure on the Herero was such that it would only take a spark to trigger a revolt. Of importance is the fact that reserves for the Herero were discussed and legislated. Being aware of these developments, the Herero realised that their land was shrinking and fears of future land losses were justified. For the Germans, the rebellion provided the perfect excuse and opportunity to acquire the land and rid the area of the Herero, whom they had struggled to control during the previous 15 years. The path towards an order of genocide was further paved when German troops had difficulty quelling the 1904 Herero rebellion.⁴⁶ That the well-trained and well-equipped European troops were 'eaten up' against the natives who supposedly had no arms and no war tactics and the animals they successfully hunted (German officials had no need to fear the animals) put in place by mid-1904 to achieve all the goals set out above – respect and clearance of the land – as Kjekaviri observed, this strategy was so successful that by 1911 the best land in south and central GSWA was in the hands of white settlers.⁴⁶

German perpetrators and Herero victims

Although David J. Zimmerer has argued that 'with a few exceptions, the vast majority of the perpetrators were Herero',⁴⁷ this is not the case. Perpetrators of crimes against Herero and other South-West African peoples, this book argues, fell largely to the perpetrators. The role of onlookers is problematic, because it is difficult to distinguish between onlookers and perpetrators in this context.⁴⁸ As far as the perpetrators are concerned, the questions of what guilt is and for what conduct they bear responsibility are more complex. In this regard, criminal, moral, political and historical aspects of the genocide are all relevant and may be seen in those who

⁴⁶ Zimmerer, J. and Zeller, J. (2008) *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its Aftermath* (Mannheim: Metzner Press).

⁴⁷ Zimmerer, J. (2008) 'The Herero and Nama Genocides in German South-West Africa', in J. Zimmerer and J. Zeller (eds.), *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its Aftermath* (Mannheim: Metzner Press), p. 1.

⁴⁸ Zimmerer, J. (2008) 'The Herero and Nama Genocides in German South-West Africa', in J. Zimmerer and J. Zeller (eds.), *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its Aftermath* (Mannheim: Metzner Press), p. 1.

⁴⁹ Zimmerer, J. (2008) 'The Herero and Nama Genocides in German South-West Africa', in J. Zimmerer and J. Zeller (eds.), *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its Aftermath* (Mannheim: Metzner Press), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Zimmerer, J. (2008) 'The Herero and Nama Genocides in German South-West Africa', in J. Zimmerer and J. Zeller (eds.), *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its Aftermath* (Mannheim: Metzner Press), p. 1.

⁵¹ Zimmerer, J. (2008) 'The Herero and Nama Genocides in German South-West Africa', in J. Zimmerer and J. Zeller (eds.), *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its Aftermath* (Mannheim: Metzner Press), p. 1.

the authors are former soldiers who had remained in the territory after winning their independence.

Other indigenous communities are also portrayed as victims of the violence of the Guatemalan state and the Guatemalan army, but the authors do not mention the Guatemalan state or the Guatemalan army.

The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the Guatemalan civil war, but it is also a valuable contribution to the study of the Guatemalan state and the Guatemalan army. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the Guatemalan civil war, but it is also a valuable contribution to the study of the Guatemalan state and the Guatemalan army. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the Guatemalan civil war, but it is also a valuable contribution to the study of the Guatemalan state and the Guatemalan army.

The role of Kaiser Wilhelm II

Writing in the introduction to his book, the author states that his perspective is that of a German, and that he is not a Germanist. He states that he is not a Germanist, and that he is not a Germanist. He states that he is not a Germanist, and that he is not a Germanist. He states that he is not a Germanist, and that he is not a Germanist.

1. The role of Kaiser Wilhelm II in the outbreak of the First World War. The author states that Kaiser Wilhelm II was a key figure in the outbreak of the First World War. He states that Kaiser Wilhelm II was a key figure in the outbreak of the First World War. He states that Kaiser Wilhelm II was a key figure in the outbreak of the First World War.

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General Lohar in his military uniform.

As soon as the author of this book, General Lohar, was appointed to the post of Chief of the General Staff of the Indian Army, he was faced with the task of reorganizing the Indian Army. He states that he was faced with the task of reorganizing the Indian Army. He states that he was faced with the task of reorganizing the Indian Army.

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war make all too clear'.⁴³ Some 30 years later, in 1956, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology in Berlin-Dahlem noted that some of its research consisted of collecting and classifying human skulls from Africa, tracing Watten-SS doctors and conducting studies in race-crossing.⁴⁴ Which specific skulls are referred to is unclear, but the skulls of Africans, including those of the Herero, were still under examination during Nazi times. The collecting of skulls and bones parts, even after the war, is a disturbing reminder of what was done to these people, and that the Jews and the Gypsies were reduced and that the Jews and the Gypsies contributed to them being hybrids of the Negro and the Orientals.

They supported Arendt's views regarding the link between Nazi policy and what occurred in the colonies, especially GSWA.⁴⁶ Jonassohn⁴⁷ addresses the same issues, clarifying in the process that many have misquoted Arendt, while others have linked the two periods through the use of notions such as fascism. Jonassohn endorses the direct links between the two eras citing the human experiments, the philosophy, the racism and the denials. Racism was clearly a prominent feature of both times. In the years of German colonial rule, locals in all German colonies in Africa endured 'genocide, incarceration in concentration camps, starvation, forced labour, deportations, expropriation of property, torture and a mixed marriage law sanctioned by the *Reinheits*, which prevented the marriages of whites and blacks. Despite the protest of liberals in the *Reinheits*, covert racism continued until Germany was forced to surrender its colonies as

The Germans referred to the locals in racist terms, referring to them as *verderbte*. The pervasive local nationalism, the *Volksgeist* through and over which the young soldiers were indoctrinated, was a typical feature of the German youth of that time. A long time ago, this was expressed in the book, *Die deutsche Jugendbewegung*, by Kurt Hiller, who was a member of the *Verdammdeutscher* group. He wrote that a young man had a set services for his fellow people, to whom he owed his life.

[illegible]

Professor RICHARD HENNING, *Medicine under the Nazis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964. Pp. 288. \$10.00.

[illegible][illegible]

Victims of genocide are often not perceived as individuals, but only

regarding the system has been noted. The Germans regarded Alsace as a part of their empire, and not as an independent right to existence except in the case of Alsace-Lorraine. The French, on the other hand, regarded Alsace as a part of the French empire, and not as an independent right to existence except in the case of Alsace-Lorraine.

For his part, the high boss in the Nazi Party, Adolf Hitler, also refers to the fact that the National Socialist Party was not a party for the masses but for the elite. He says, "The National Socialist Party is not a party for the masses but for the elite. It is a party for the future, for the future of the German people." (Hitler, 1925, p. 10)

[illegible][illegible]

" Kesting, K.W. 1998. Winter] Blacks under the swastika: A research note. 53 (1) *The Journal of Western History* 84-99. 89

1904 Africa and (CSA) a dangerous military and political force, capable of a military order to commit atrocious war crimes. Although not recognised as such, simply carried out the violence of the war. One such Reich order was created and this was the military order for the genocide.

A further link between the activities of (CSA) and Nazi Germany is the support the German military provided to the Germans. The Germans in (CSA) at the time knew quite well, generally supported the official treatment of the indigenous population paralleling the attitudes of the colonial powers as how the world people were in World War II. In the German military, particularly in the German military, it was all right to use the military to suppress the indigenous population. The evidence above therefore underlines Hüb's notion that military culture or military practices were the predominant link between the two eras.

Methodology, terminology and definitions

While the literature on the Herero genocide has grown in recent years, much work remains to be done, especially by those directly affected. The Herero themselves ought to be doing more writing on what happened to them and the origins of their resistance. The oral history exists. In this regard it has been noted by Erichsen in 2008 that, unlike

any other groups that took part in this research, the Herero/Mbanderu respondents were able to track the direct impact of the war on their own families, providing both the names of people who had died and the places where they died.

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Today, the Herero community consists of different groupings: the Herero who live in the central region of the country and the east, the Mbanderu, who live to the east, and the Himba and 1 milia in the north-west. In 1982, the Herero areas were named after the ethnic group living there, but in 1992, the new democratic government of Namibia created new regions to delimit the colonial association of ethnicity and area.¹⁵ The Herero reserves of Amunus Epuk ru, Eastern, Waterberg East, Ojohoroung and Ovambo created by the German colonial authorities were later reconstituted into Hereroland East and Hereroland West.¹⁶ Today Hereroland East forms part of the Omaheke region and Hereroland West is the Ojojeondjupa region.¹⁷ Owamboland's name also changed in 1992 and it was divided into four regions, namely Oshanaoto, Oshanaona, Oshanaona, Oshanaona and Oshanaona.

The most familiar symbol of Herero identity today is their clothing. At their functions the men wear turn-of-the-century German soldier uniforms and Herero women dress in their long brightly coloured Victorian dresses and headresses that look like cow horns. Green and black Victorian dresses are

worn by the Ombahendern¹ and black by the Ovaherero women and white dresses by those from Ojibiti²—give³⁴ Ruth First noted that Herero women

$$\begin{aligned} & \bullet \text{ Let } \pi: \mathcal{C} \rightarrow \mathcal{D}, \pi: \mathcal{C} \rightarrow \mathcal{D} \text{ long dress and the construction of Herstein identities} \\ & \bullet \text{ Let } \pi: \mathcal{C} \rightarrow \mathcal{D}, \pi: \mathcal{C} \rightarrow \mathcal{D} \text{ long dress and the construction of Herstein identities} \\ & \bullet \text{ Let } \pi: \mathcal{C} \rightarrow \mathcal{D}, \pi: \mathcal{C} \rightarrow \mathcal{D} \text{ long dress and the construction of Herstein identities} \end{aligned}$$
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CHAPTER ONE

AETIOLOGY OF A GENOCIDE

*Genocide is never a sudden or unplanned act. It is a deliberate, pre-meditated and carefully orchestrated act to mass murder for political purposes or a self-organised campaign of carnage.*¹

Introduction

The historiography of the events around the Herero genocide is subject to a great deal of controversy. The reasons why there was a war (or a rebellion) between the Herero and Germany in 1904 are extensively debated. Even the linguistics are not accepted without argument. Thus, Melber has termed the events between the Germans and the Herero the 'German-Namibian War'.² Acknowledging that the use of the word 'Namibia' only emerged in the 1960s, his preference is motivated by political reasons.³ Nevertheless, Alexander has called it 'the first war of anti-colonial resistance'.⁴ It was undoubtedly a resistance conflict, but given the size of the force that used against them, one can hardly classify such a one-sided affair as a war. Other terms, such as 'massacre', 'slaughter and annihilation' seem more apt as would the term 'genocide'. Although the first two minutes of the conflict might be the description of a war, thereafter the conflict involved a superior force hunting down its opponents and wiping them out by all means possible.

Another subject matter that remains unsettled is when the war or rebellion started and finished. According to Du Pisani the war occurred between 1904

and 1907. However, he gives the Nama and Herero relief only together. Other writers also agreed, including the Bundesrat in 1907, which noted that the rebellions by the Herero, Nama and Bushman were the 'razzias' of the Red State, and the Veldt and Hottentots also rebelled. The British and finally refused to furnish help, but this led to the Herero and Nama to support the Germans. Therefore, the first year of war is set at 1904, the beginning of the Herero rebellion.

The outbreak of the war is also subject to debate. While some, among others, state that the war began in 1904, others state that the war ended in 1907. While some groups like the Bundesrat agreed that the fight in 1904, others groups like the Transvaals continued from the rebellion in 1904 to 1907. The war commander stated that he was not against the lifting of the state of war in South West Africa until the end of March.⁵ Thus, even though combat continued, the state of war was publicly rescinded on 31 March 1907. It is not clear that the state of war was ended, since almost 100,000 Herero and Nama were still in the hands of the Germans. The state of war was ended by the death of Jakob Morenga, a Herero leader, in 1907. This was the final act in the suppression of the great Herero-Nama insurrection of 1904. It is agreed by some that 1908 is the end of the war because it

The rebellion of the Nama was recognised as an anti-colonial resistance movement. In this regard, Alexander has depicted the German colonial policy in the colonies as a 'policy of extermination'.⁶ The Herero and Nama were reported to the Colonial Department in January 1904, that they were in a rebellion. The rebellion was not a simple one, but it was a complex one. It was a rebellion against the German colonial policy of extermination. The Herero and Nama were not only fighting against the German colonial policy, but they were also fighting against the German colonial policy of extermination. The Herero and Nama were not only fighting against the German colonial policy, but they were also fighting against the German colonial policy of extermination.

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Herero Chief Kambaharuzi Nihodemus Kavikurus being executed on 11 June 1896 for treason for his role in an uprising

Reparations must be remembered that this resulted in rising or war was not without precedent and certainly not an isolated event. Throughout the German colonies there existed a pattern of local communities in miserable conditions, which inevitably led to the rebellion of these communities against the colonial masters. Generally, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Africans did not simply accept the role of colonialism and many tenaciously resisted the occupation, of their countries. As Luidke has observed, 'The European hunger for power and attempt to

See Barthelme, J. (1990) Colonial Genocide and Reparation: Claims to the 21st Century. In: *South Africa: Endings of German War, International Law and the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia 1904-1908* (Westport: Praeger Security International).

exploit resources in Africa in the same manner various heros but in most cases provoked Africa's tribes. Examples of atrocities committed by Europeans in those regions in which these resources are abundant. However, while the Germans attempted to put a stop to the war with a small force, they treated the Herero differently. If the case for genocide took place, which is not and would not have been, in the German colonies. We do the Germans treat the Herero so much more harshly than other African peoples completely. This chapter addresses the question: 'the right to a national or a state'.

While the Herero pressing of 1904 supposedly took the Germans by complete surprise, they should have expected it. This was not the first time an indigenous group in a German territory had rebelled in fact it was a regular occurrence in most of them. Neither was it the first time that a group was killed as it had.

The Herero were not a new people, but a few months before the Herero uprising in January 1904, the German colonial authorities in the Herero territory had been told that the Herero were 'moving' and should have anticipated the rebellion. Already in the 1890s the settlers believed that the Herero were 'moving' in German colonies had ample warnings that the conflict was getting in the air. Interestingly, Governor Leutwein knew that in 1904, the Herero were 'moving' and had a plan to fight an 1894 conflict, also looking them to accept it. In this instance, a set of circumstances.

In 1904, the Herero announced about a 'moving' plan to the extent that some settlers predicted their sermons to reveal the details of the plan.

1. Luidke, H. (1990) 'Racialization of the German's suppressed the Herero rising in 1904', *Journal of the German Colonial Society*, 10(1), 1-10.
2. Luidke, H. (1990) 'The Herero rising in 1904', *Journal of the German Colonial Society*, 10(1), 1-10.
3. Luidke, H. (1990) 'The Herero rising in 1904', *Journal of the German Colonial Society*, 10(1), 1-10.
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9. Luidke, H. (1990) 'The Herero rising in 1904', *Journal of the German Colonial Society*, 10(1), 1-10.
10. Luidke, H. (1990) 'The Herero rising in 1904', *Journal of the German Colonial Society*, 10(1), 1-10.

In August 1904, German reports that a rebellion was taking place in the Herero and Nama lands, and that the rebels were attacking German settlements. The German government sent a force of 1,000 men to suppress the rebellion. The Herero and Nama leaders were captured and executed. The German government then implemented a policy of 'concentration camps' for the remaining Herero and Nama. The camps were overcrowded and unsanitary, leading to the deaths of thousands of people. The German government also confiscated the land of the Herero and Nama, and gave it to German settlers. The Herero and Nama were forced to work on the land for the settlers. The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Herero and Nama. The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation was a key factor in the Herero and Nama genocide.

The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation was a key factor in the Herero and Nama genocide. The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Herero and Nama. The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation was a key factor in the Herero and Nama genocide.

Figure 1. A photograph of a Herero man and woman standing in front of a building.



The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation was a key factor in the Herero and Nama genocide. The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Herero and Nama. The German government's policy of 'concentration camps' and land confiscation was a key factor in the Herero and Nama genocide.

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Governor.⁶⁷ As early as 1896, the Herero were anxious about which reports reached the Kaiser and the consequences these would have for them. At that time, the Herero did not think of Governor Luitken as particularly sympathetic towards them, although this changed some years later. In 1905 the Herero were still hostile towards the Governor and the GSWA, as their own leaders were determined to put an end to protesting as a means of protest or argument. The soldiers reported this as a reason why the Herero did a blow to them as they are not a peaceful nation but a war nation. In 1906 the Herero did not expect that a German soldier would be able to come and stand in the middle of a Herero village and say to the Herero: 'I am a German soldier'.

Already by November 1903, following the Bondselswartz uprising, the settlers blamed Leutwein and demanded his replacement by a general from the German Staff. They expressed their lack of confidence in Leutwein which was expressed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* published an article to this effect on 12 November 1903.⁵⁰ The settlers were demanding to regain control over the entire territory using any means. However, Leutwein could not allow what they did because he and unpopularity here was little they could do. As Leutwein was not a German and commander of the military forces in GSWA, he controlled both the civilian and military decisions there. He did not answer to the military or the Kaiser. Leutwein ignored the settlers' indignant yelps and ensured their undying opposition, while his actions left the troops and towns in fear, cheap land and more passages drawn, leaving the settlers angry and bitter. As a result, Leutwein was not able to solve the problem and the Kaiser was not satisfied. Leutwein was replaced by a German general, von Helmreich, who was able to get up, ready to take part in a campaign against the extermination of the Bondselswartz and the use of the troops without permission. Paul Leutwein, the son of the Governor noted that on 31 December 1903, less than two weeks before the supposed uprising, the settlers held a

Zimmerman, A. (2000) *Anthropology and ethnohistory in imperial Germany*.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 103

117 (1959) *Herero herpet: A socio-political history of the Herero of Namibia 1890-1928*. Oxford James Currey, 144.

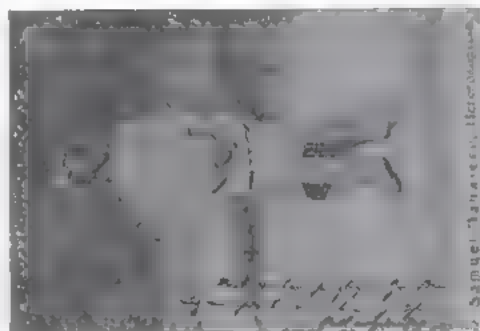
meeting where, in his words, in a fiery speech one of the oldest Afrikaners, the Haptsmann van Franconi, called for a general *razzia* against the Herero as the cause of their misfortune. This scenario of the white settler community and the German colonial government lobby in Berlin undeniably contributed to the Herero war.⁵² The Herero were made both in the GSWA and Germany in meetings in various journals, books and newspapers. One newspaper called for the deportation of the Herero to the GSWA:

extent to which the settlers sought the blood of the Herero and the public execution of rebels in Windhoek, there were a number of settlers who were extremely delighted.⁴⁷

Due to the pressure of the settlers to deal harshly with the Herero and the demands of missionary work, the Herero were not accepted as equals of missionary nor were they prepared to accept a second-class or inferior status. Consequently, the settlers became more disgruntled, if not downright furious, about Leutwein's approach. That the German government would offend the African population, Leutwein knew. Although a German, he was popular on Leutwein's relationship with the Herero and was not in touch with the popular opinion of the Herero and the other Natives, he knew as well as the Europeans.

[illegible][illegible]

them and is just towards them.⁴⁸ Lewtweins contention that 'colonial policy should not be conducted in the manner of a Tartar Khan, with blood and iron but with understanding for the historic customs of local inhabitants was incomprehensible to the settlers. They demanded from Lewtweins that he should use all his persuasion in dealing with the African tribes, but that he should implement a policy that would finally make the settlers the masters over the Africans.



Portrait of Chief Samuel Mahero

Undoubtedly, Berlin was aware of the economic rivalries between the settlers and the local communities for land and livestock. Due to his deep sympathy for the local population, Lewtwein did not regard the settlers' urgent drive to improve their economic position as a direct threat to the local communities. When he encountered the local communities, he was not averse to their efforts to trade more and livestock if it could make them richer, and thus set them on a firm footing for a tougher stance against the Germans.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 110.
⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 110.
⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 110.

and a lot to say to the Germans. In the end, the settlers should not be conducted in the manner of a Tartar Khan, with blood and iron but with understanding for the historic customs of local inhabitants was incomprehensible to the settlers. They demanded from Lewtweins that he should use all his persuasion in dealing with the African tribes, but that he should implement a policy that would finally make the settlers the masters over the Africans.

The German policy towards the local communities was not averse to their efforts to trade more and livestock if it could make them richer, and thus set them on a firm footing for a tougher stance against the Germans.

By the time many had reached the end of the century, the settlers had been able to establish a firm footing for a tougher stance against the Germans.

When he encountered the local communities, he was not averse to their efforts to trade more and livestock if it could make them richer, and thus set them on a firm footing for a tougher stance against the Germans.

Undoubtedly, Berlin was aware of the economic rivalries between the settlers and the local communities for land and livestock. Due to his deep sympathy for the local population, Lewtwein did not regard the settlers' urgent drive to improve their economic position as a direct threat to the local communities.

1892, it reached 250,000.⁵⁴ It has been estimated that in the century before World War I, six million Germans emigrated from their homeland.⁵⁵ Between 1890 and 1914, the German population grew by 25 per cent. Although the emigration numbers began to fall after 1900, it is estimated that the year 1914 saw 2.5 million Germans leaving the country. Germany's emigration policy was regarded as one of the most attractive colonies, the German government considered it a prime destination for emigrants.⁵⁶ A 'new Germany' would hopefully address both the rapid population growth and the problem of emigration. Despite Germany's eagerness, few were interested in settling in GSWA.⁵⁷ They were reluctant to move to an unstable region with little infrastructure. Consequently, Germany actively had to find ways to make this prospect more appealing.

One of the driving factors behind German colonialism was the notion that a world of free trade and open markets that could be achieved by the end of the century would be the best way of revolution.⁵⁸ Therefore, economics and the need for new markets were strategic reasons to acquire colonies, the plan for a new German settlement was an ever-stronger rationale. The colonies provided a venue and the opportunity to save the worthy aspects of the old system.⁵⁹ Waiter notes that a second Germany would serve as a place 'away from the anxieties and dislocations resulting from industrialization and the dissatisfaction over the "incompleteness" of German unification'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the notion of a new Heimat, a second Germany and the economic benefits of German settlement in the colonies complemented each other.⁶¹ Thus, from early on the idea of settlement motivated Germany to join the

⁵⁴ See also, *The Germans and Africa: Their aims on the Dark Continent and how they were achieved*, by African colonies, London, Cassell, 1905.

⁵⁵ *The wild South-West: Frontier myths and metaphors*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁵⁶ *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁵⁷ *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁵⁸ *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁵⁹ *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁶⁰ *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁶¹ *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

⁶² *The German Colonies*, by J. H. Coatsworth, London, 1980.

race for the colonies. By April 1890 a Colonial Office had been established, in

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at the same time increasing white settler numbers.¹⁵⁶ Professor Moritz Bunn, Director of the German Colonial School, also recognised this and, as Director of the Royal Colonial Institute on German Colonial Policy, stated:

We wanted to concentrate on Africa the emigrants we were losing at the beginning of the colonial enterprise. We wanted to build up an African soil in Germany and create daughter states as you have done in Australia and in Canada. We carried this idea to its bitter end. We tried it in South-West Africa and produced a huge native rising, causing the loss of much treasure and many lives. We tried to assume to ourselves the functions of Providence and we tried to exterminate a native race whom our lack of wisdom had poured into rebellion. We succeeded in breaking up the native tribes, but we have not yet succeeded in creating a new Germany.¹⁵⁷

While the war created a genuine awareness of settler and settler processes, by the war, the period immediately prior to the war was created and attributed the end of the pre-war stability not to the government, but rather to the settlers.¹⁵⁸

Attracting German settlers to GSWA

Developing GSWA as an attractive colony for German settler immigration required various enticement strategies. Potential immigrants were lured with appealing portrayals of the territory. Hence, a civil servant, Clara Blackmann,¹⁵⁹ went to GSWA to write travel books to persuade Germans to settle there.¹⁶⁰ Germany also had to ensure that there would be German women to cohabit and marry white male settlers and so it introduced a programme

¹⁵⁶ Wildenthal, L. (1996) 'She is the victor: Bourgeois women, nationalist identities and the ideal of the independent women farmers in German South West Africa 1870-1930', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34, 1-34.

¹⁵⁷ Bunn, M. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Bunn, M. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Bunn, M. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2.

¹⁵⁸ Bunn, M. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Bunn, M. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Bunn, M. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2.

¹⁵⁹ Blackmann, C. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Blackmann, C. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Blackmann, C. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2.

¹⁶⁰ Blackmann, C. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Blackmann, C. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2. Blackmann, C. (1904) *South-West Africa: A Guide to the Colonies*, 1-2.

Other measures to boost recruitment included the issuing of numerous ordinances from 1891, which exempted settlers from military service and made GSWA a grant-free territory. The government also established a fund for 100 000 marks to assist settlers to settle there. The government also established a fund for 100 000 marks to assist settlers to settle there. The government also established a fund for 100 000 marks to assist settlers to settle there.

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matter of years'.¹⁴⁴ This was clear to many and even the Rhenish Missionary society realised what was to occur and demanded the establishment of Herero reserves that would be 'invaluable'.

To some extent, Germany's strategies were successful. More Germans settled in GSWA than in any other German colony, even the Pacific.¹⁴⁵ Although German territory in South West and East Africa was approximately the same size, the GSWA settler population was more than double that of East Africa, tenfold more than that of Cameroon and a hundredfold more than that of Togo.¹⁴⁶ In 1891 there were only 510 Germans in GSWA, but by 1903 there were 2 984 Germans and a white population of 4 640.¹⁴⁷ Between 1897 and 1903, the number of white farmers trebled. This huge increase in settlement from the mid 1890s, compounded by the fact that no more land was available along the railway, resulted in a great deal of pressure for more land.¹⁴⁸

Germany feared that Afrikaners and Cape colonialists might move to the area and in the process subsume valuable resources and land. In 1890, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who had initiated the colonial policy, stated that 'any further acquisition of land was to get the Hereros to settle there'.

The question of the settlement of the protectorate through immigrants of all nations for the benefit of the German colonies is a matter of the greatest importance. For farming would contribute to the economic development of the colonies. On the other hand, one cannot overlook the fact that the colonies are to be developed as German interests in the protectorate. This danger is all the more to prevent, as the regions suitable for agriculture are not very limited and consequently the immigration of Boers and Cape colonists in large numbers would present serious impediments to the development of the colonies.

To affect this 'speedy settlement' the colonial authorities introduced policies allowing soldiers to acquire farms in GSWA. It is not surprising that these

¹⁴⁴ Soecher, H. (ed.) (1896) *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning until the Second World War* (London: Hurst & Co. 49–50).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 50.

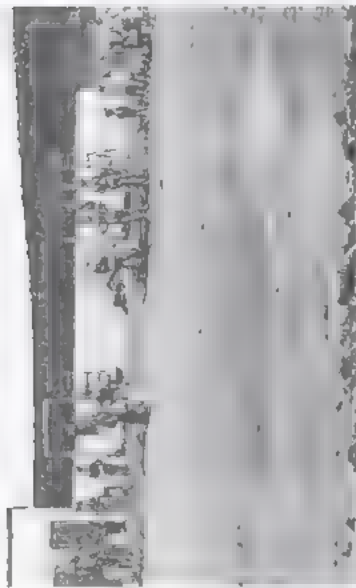
¹⁴⁶ Gann, L.H. (1907) 'Marginal colonialism: The German case', 1–17. In Knoll A.J. & Gann, L.H. (eds) *Germans in the tropics. Essays in German colonial history*. New York/London: Greenwood Press, 1–17, 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Other whites included English and Afrikaners. Soecher, H. (ed.) (1896) *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning until the Second World War* (London: Hurst & Co. 49).

¹⁴⁹ Kautsch, U. (2005) *Die Geschichte der ehemaligen Kolonie Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1884–1914. Eine Gesamtübersicht* (2 ed.) Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Wahlberg, D.J. (2002) *Creating Germany abroad. Cultural policies and colonial intervention in Namibia*. Athens GA: Ohio University Press, 1.



Herero soldiers being executed at Gibeon in 1905 with women and children spectators

The difference in the treatment noted out to the two groups relates primarily to the comparative desirability of their land. It is also hypothesised that the Herero were spared because they apparently did not mutilate the bodies of dead German soldiers, as the Herero were alleged to have done.¹⁶

Strategies to obtain land for settlement and livestock

From the 1890s onward, discussions brewed in Germany on how to transfer the land in GSWA to the settlers.¹⁷ In 1890, Paul Rohrbach, previously referred to apropos the link between the Herero genocide and the Holocaust, emphasised this desire for the land and the philosophy prevalent at the time:

The decision to colonise in South-West Africa could after all mean nothing else but that, namely, that the native tribes would have to give up their lands on which they

¹⁶ Hull, 1 V (2003), *Absolutive destruction. Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 67.

¹⁷ Stöckert, H. (ed.) (1986) *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginnings until the Second World War* (London: C. Hurst & Co.), 48.

had previously grazed their stock in order that the white man might have the land for the grazing of stock. By no arguments whatsoever can it be shown that the Herero, in any degree of national independence, national property and political freedom, the races of South-west Africa, would be of greater or of an equal value to the development of mankind in general or of the German people in particular, than the making of such races servicable in the enjoyment of their former possessions by the white man.

Rohrbach's views were neither isolated nor extreme. In fact, he was held in such high regard that he was appointed a member of the commission established to determine compensation for those whites who had suffered damage during the war. Formal policy reflected this desire to get the land:

Acquiring settler land from the Herero

In the early 1890s, the Germans employed many methods to acquire land and control GSWA. From 1884, the Herero were asked to sell their land to the Germans.

- from 1884 and 1894 protection treaties and purchases were used,
- from 1894 to 1904 increasing military and bureaucratic control were used to take land.

The Herero were forced to sell their land to the Germans for a very low price. The Germans then used the land for settlement and for livestock. The Herero were also forced to give up their land to the Germans for a very low price. The Germans then used the land for settlement and for livestock. The Herero were also forced to give up their land to the Germans for a very low price. The Germans then used the land for settlement and for livestock.

¹⁸ Gervais, J-B & Silvester, J. (2003) *Herero cannot be found* (German colonialism in Africa). In: *Herero and the German colonial project* (Leiden: Brill), 79.

there are allegations that Maherero was pitted with alcohol before signing land sale documents.¹⁷⁰ A friend of Maherero testified to this:

*I know Samuel well, he was very fond of liquor and the Germans kept him well supplied. He used to get cases of rum and brandy. Samuel was afraid of his life. He told me that the Germans made him drunk and got him to sign papers he knew nothing of and for which he was sorry afterwards. Samuel, in his better moments, bitterly complained of how the Germans had taken advantage of his weakness.*¹⁷¹

Other times, local leaders did not realise that land was being sold and not merely lent. Samuel Kutako's statement below confirms this:

Under the Herero law the ground belonged to the tribe in common and not even the chief could sell or dispose of it. He could give people permission to live on the land, but no sales were valid and no chief ever attempted to sell his people's land. Even the mission areas were settled amongst us, only got permission to live there. Land was never sold to Germans or anyone else. We did not have any idea of such a thing.¹⁷²

In the initial stage, between 1884 and 1894, land acquisition involved purchases and the offering of protection to the inhabitants in exchange for land.¹⁷³ The Germans were not initially strong enough at the time to attain the land they wanted and had, therefore, to rely on a system of friendship treaties and sales. However, during the first decade of German advancement, the Herero technically did not sell any land to them,¹⁷⁴ as their land was communal and the chiefs were merely the custodians of the land and not authorised to sell it.

¹⁷⁰ Apparently a story was also used to coax Nama chiefs. See Mother II (1914) in Berrin, 1982, and to the T-figura, Die Taageschichte des Akesi I, 1912, 200, the T-figura was 'by reason of his weakness' was 'degraded' and 'drunk'. The mission 'Informationen' (1914) in Berrin, 1982, also stated in Nambwa 1, 200 + H (1914) that 'The very weak and degraded German officials in the case of Nambwa MA thesis (Law & Diplomacy) Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1981, 98. See also Heywood, A., Lau, B. & Only R. (1982) *How are leaders, rulers, and outcasts in the Namibian past*. Windhoek: Mafex Oral Records Project, 1982.

¹⁷¹ Gwladys J-B & Silvester (1903) *Words cannot be found: German colonial rule in Namibia: An annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*. Leiden: Brill, 1970. Contained in the Blue Book and found in Gwladys J-B & Silvester, J. (1903) *Words cannot be found: German colonial rule in Namibia. An annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

¹⁷² Berrin, 1982, p. 1089. *A history of resistance in Namibia*. Paris: London Addis Ababa UNFPAO, 1982.

¹⁷³ Drewsen, H. (1982) *Let us be fighting. The struggle of the Herero and Nama against the German imperialism (1898-1915)* (Berrin Zolner, transl.). London: Zed Press, 1982.

In 1892 the Germans formed a land-settlement syndicate and in 1893 the syndicate agreed to it because the large orchards of land. The German authorities did not agree to it because the syndicate was unable to defend such a grant to indigenous groups as a social asset that land. When Captain von François realised that agents of the syndicate were taking land anyway and 'acting recklessly', he requested Berlin suspend the work of the syndicate. The request was refused, but Berlin told the syndicate to confine its land acquisition to the areas around Windhoek (at least for the time being).¹⁷⁵

Natural disasters, part of the Herero and helping the Germans

The years before the Herero-German war were a time of distress for not only the Herero, the T-figura and the settlers but also the Germans. Unfortunately a series of natural disasters between 1890 and 1894 severely debilitated the Herero, making it to resist German domination. The worst in drought, typhoid and locust plagues smoothed the path of German colonial development as it assisted the colonisers in subjugating the local population.¹⁷⁶ One of the roughest epidemics, the German colonial administration enforced culling and implemented a programme of vaccination in which cattle were killed to 'sanitize' the vaccine. These epidemics and the drought forced a large number of Herero towards the Germans. A subtle yet strong exhortation to the Herero was that although approximately 100,000 Herero died during that period, the number it was the rank, power, and the destruction of their cattle that proved most devastating.

¹⁷⁵ Gwladys J-B & Silvester (1903) *Words cannot be found: German colonial rule in Namibia: An annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

¹⁷⁶ Berrin, 1982, p. 1089. *A history of resistance in Namibia*. Paris: London Addis Ababa UNFPAO, 1982. See also Heywood, A., Lau, B. & Only R. (1982) *How are leaders, rulers, and outcasts in the Namibian past*. Windhoek: Mafex Oral Records Project, 1982.

¹⁷⁷ Gwladys J-B & Silvester (1903) *Words cannot be found: German colonial rule in Namibia: An annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*. Leiden: Brill, 1970. Contained in the Blue Book and found in Gwladys J-B & Silvester, J. (1903) *Words cannot be found: German colonial rule in Namibia. An annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

¹⁷⁸ Drewsen, H. (1982) *Let us be fighting. The struggle of the Herero and Nama against the German imperialism (1898-1915)* (Berrin Zolner, transl.). London: Zed Press, 1982.

While it is true that land sales by the chiefs were not continuing at the same rate as they were in the five or so years preceding 1903, the Herero had lost huge sections of land to the process previously. Herero territory was shrinking rapidly. Their chiefs protest that they were not at it use even more land were accurate as they soon lost a most of their land and animals.

The establishment of reserves must have contributed to their concern and resentment. In his book, *Elf Jahre*, Leutwein primarily attributed the Herero rebellion to the creation of reserves, saying the Herero believed it to be a ploy to get control of their land and in 1904 report, Rheinisch missionar Kuhlman concurred with Leutwein's view.⁹¹

Gewald maintains that it was not the Herero chiefs, but the missionaries who were opposed to the sale of land. Admittedly, many chiefs were amenable to selling their land or at least susceptible to influence, because they were under pressure from the colonial authorities and the settlers. Debt forced some to sell. The natural disasters had reduced their cattle holdings and made them dependent on other sources of income to feed their communities. As a result, all this, the Herero people were generally opposed to the sales and believed the chiefs had no right to trade their land.

The planned Otavi railroad exacerbated the land issue, as it would cut through Hereroland, dividing the land into strips and leaving less land available for farming. In 1900 the Herero sued the company in question.⁹² According to some sources, the railway route prompted the Herero to rebel.⁹³ Bridgman notes that by 1900 very little Herero land had been alienated, but as the railroad construction reached Windhoek, the pace of the land loss

dramatic increase. From 1897 land settlements charged rapidly, and the number of white settlers rose from 22 in 1893 to 10,000 in 1903. By 1905, as a result of the war in the east, German reserves had access to another 100,000 hectares, which was a huge increase.

The growth of the Herero community also increased pressure on the Herero. As Bridgman pointed out, the Herero's outstanding debts to German banks would be written off if the reserves were sold without assets. This was a terrible situation, as the Herero's debts to the banks were not only a financial burden but also a social one. The Herero's debts to the banks were not only a financial burden but also a social one. The Herero's debts to the banks were not only a financial burden but also a social one.

The comprehensive and unmitigated way in which the arrival of the Germans impinged on the Herero provided sufficient provocation for rebellion. Bridgman notes that in 1903 'the day when the Hereros would not have been able to maintain their traditional ways of life was fast approaching'. It was a position that had been reached by 1903, he Hereros had so many reasons for rebelling that it is difficult to make available to ask why they had not acted sooner. They were generally being treated poorly and disrespectfully. Trade and credit agreements often involved premeditation if not deception. They were systematically being deprived of their land and livestock, they were soon to be confined to small reserves to which they had not agreed and they believed the only official who treated them justly had been killed. There seems to be ample evidence to suggest that such comprehensive erosion of pressure on the Herero was designed to force them into actions that could justify reprisals.

91. Bridgman, 108. The revolt of the Hereros, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965.
92. Werner, 1903. No one is to become rich. Economy and society in the Herero reserves in Southwest Africa, 1890-1904, p. 158. See also Werner, 1903.
93. Bridgman, 108. The revolt of the Hereros, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965.
94. Werner, 1903. No one is to become rich. Economy and society in the Herero reserves in Southwest Africa, 1890-1904, p. 158. See also Werner, 1903.
95. See Maitland, 1904, June. 'Patterns of frontier genocide 1803-1913: The aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California and the Herero'. National Association of Germanic Research, 1975-82. See also Maitland, 1904, June. 'Patterns of frontier genocide 1803-1913: The aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California and the Herero'. National Association of Germanic Research, 1975-82.
96. See Maitland, 1904, June. 'Patterns of frontier genocide 1803-1913: The aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California and the Herero'. National Association of Germanic Research, 1975-82.

Appropriating Herero land and cattle during and after the war

Germany had not won the war (technically, at least), and yet it was a loss which was far more catastrophic for the Hereros than the loss of their land. More than 29 million hectares and the settlers less than four million hectares. More than 91 million of the approximately 85 million hectares in GSWA were set in the hands of the indigenous population.²⁵⁴ Put another way, 90% of the total of 500 000 square kilometres deemed suitable for the German whites only owned 29 000 (5.8 percent). At this time, more than a quarter of Herero land was in the hands of settlers and, according to Bridgman, the pace at which Herero land was being taken predicted that complete dispossession was imminent.²⁵⁵ Yet the settlers were still unaware that this fact the process of acquiring more territory was to slow down, and that the Herero land was to remain under the control of the indigenous population.²⁵⁷

During the war, the German authorities acted very quickly to confiscate a great deal of Herero land. By May 1907, when the war was still ongoing, the colonial government had already taken 1.5 million hectares of land. This was a finalised and complete acquisition. On 23 March 1906, the Director of the Colonial Office stated that Germany had always seen GSWA as a settlement colony. On 23 March 1906, Hohenlohe Langenburg, the Deputy Director of the Colonial Office, repeated that GSWA was an area for settlement and rejected the view that it was worthless. He claimed that 700 of the soldiers who came to fight the Herero wanted to remain in GSWA, a demonstration of their appreciation of the value of GSWA.²⁵⁸

The extermination order announced by Von Trotha in Ojshero stated that all the Herero were to vacate the land, as it now belonged to the Germans. The inclusion of the stipulation about land in the extermination order unambiguously shows that the intention was to drive the Herero out in order to take over the land if they did not comply they would have to deal with German guns.

Sogor suggests that establishing a purely white society may have been part of the reason for the genocide as Palper argues, on the other hand, that the

²⁵⁴ W. Curt Meyer, *South-West Africa, 1884-1914*, p. 100. Meyer also states that the Herero were to be given 1.5 million hectares of land, but this was never implemented.

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²⁶¹ W. Curt Meyer, *South-West Africa, 1884-1914*, p. 100. Meyer also states that the Herero were to be given 1.5 million hectares of land, but this was never implemented.

²⁶² W. Curt Meyer, *South-West Africa, 1884-1914*, p. 100. Meyer also states that the Herero were to be given 1.5 million hectares of land, but this was never implemented.

²⁶³ W. Curt Meyer, *South-West Africa, 1884-1914*, p. 100. Meyer also states that the Herero were to be given 1.5 million hectares of land, but this was never implemented.

²⁶⁴ W. Curt Meyer, *South-West Africa, 1884-1914*, p. 100. Meyer also states that the Herero were to be given 1.5 million hectares of land, but this was never implemented.

²⁶⁵ W. Curt Meyer, *South-West Africa, 1884-1914*, p. 100. Meyer also states that the Herero were to be given 1.5 million hectares of land, but this was never implemented.

The genocidal intent of the war remained apparent even after the war ended, the Germans were not satisfied with having killed most of the Herero and having taken their land and cattle, they also implemented various measures to destroy the ethnic loyalty and identity among the remaining Herero. In 1907, for example, the colonial administration replaced the system of chiefs.²⁸⁰ The following statement by the Commissioner for Settlement counters the notion that the genocide was primarily the work and policy of a 'rogue' general, Von Trotha. Regarding the surviving Herero, he declared that 'our job is to strip the Herero of his heritage and national characteristics and gradually to submerge him, along with other natives into a single colored working class'.²⁸¹ The 'physical' genocide was not enough — the nationhood of the Herero needed to be obliterated.

The centrality of the land issue is illustrated by the fact that communal farming in GSWA only really began after 1907.²⁸² Botha notes that settlement in GSWA truly took off after the war in 1908, partly because larger farms were given to settlers.²⁸³ In the 20 years between 1887 and 1907, only 480 farms were sold, but the war brought such change to GSWA that many German settlers were willing to focus on farming. In 1907 alone, 402 farms were sold and in 1908 another 147 were sold.²⁸⁴ In 1904, whites owned 348 farms.²⁸⁵ By 1913, there were 1531 white-owned farms and the white population had risen to 14,460.²⁸⁶ Half the agricultural land in the Police Zone (the southern and central parts below the Red Line) was taken up by white farms. Whites, of whom 91% were German and the rest mainly Afrikaans, owned 1,046 of these farms. These white farmers owned 185 167 large livestock or ninety percent of the total of 205,643. Blacks owned only 22,276 cattle in the whole territory.²⁸⁷ However, blacks owned about

²⁸⁰ Stöcker II, ed. 1900. *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning to the present*. Herero-Land. C. Hurst & Co. Ltd. Nairobi. Pks II. 9. *South-West Africa under German rule, 1884-1915*. London: Heinemann, 1917.

²⁸¹ Sauerland, p. 290. Fall 16. See C. Havas, ed. 1903. *The claim of ethnography*. Paris: Larousse.

²⁸² Werner A. 1905. *Verordnung über die Verwaltung der Kolonialwirtschaft in Namibia 1894-1914*. Basel: S. Neuchâtel.

²⁸³ Botha, C. 1910. *Map: The progress of settlement in Namibia, 1890-1900*. 3rd. South African Historical Journal, 252-70, 253.

²⁸⁴ Sauerland, p. 11. ed. 1900. *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning to the present*. Herero-Land. C. Hurst & Co. Ltd. Nairobi. Pks II. 9.

²⁸⁵ Sauerland, p. 290. *Verordnung über die Verwaltung der Kolonialwirtschaft in Namibia 1894-1914*. Basel: S. Neuchâtel.

²⁸⁶ Stöcker II, ed. 1900. *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning to the present*. Herero-Land. C. Hurst & Co. Ltd. Nairobi. Pks II. 9.

²⁸⁷ Adams, F., Werner, W. & Vale, P. (1999). *The land issue in Namibia: An inquiry*. Windhoek: Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Namibia 15.

one third of all the small livestock.²⁸⁸ A colonial memorandum on land holdings gives the following breakdown of farm sizes in 1913:

- 10% of land owners owned more than 100,000 hectares that included the Herero missionary society and the Catholic Mission;
- 11 owned between 50,000 and 100,000 hectares;
- 88 farms comprised between 20,000 and 50,000 hectares;
- 275 farms consisted of between 10,000 and 20,000 hectares;
- 481 farms were between 5,000 and 10,000 hectares; and
- 271 farms were smaller than 5,000 hectares.²⁸⁹

Interracialism, mixed-race German citizens and alcoholism

Other developments in GSWA at the time added pressure on the Kaiser and the Germans to take action in their colonies. Generally, there was concern that the SET COLONIALS constituted a drain on working-class people and social costs.²⁹⁰ The Kaiser was exacerbated by the many reports of diseases which must have been anathema to those in Germany. Colonial Director Bernhard Dernburg stated that

the white race, being mostly inferior in numbers to the indigenous population, should maintain a superiority in life style and occupation, in order not to lose its reputation and sink down into the same mass of natives and half races. Thus, they should not work next to or in competition with Africa labourers.²⁹¹

Pfister notes that the efforts to make German South West Africa an exact copy of Germany and a breeding ground for German culture were accompanied by two fears. In the first of the other least contacts with Africa, and in the second, the fear that the 'civilized' people would be 'lost' to the natives and in all sorts of ways. The 'negatives' might be all too 'positive'.

German imperialism was not only women partly because there were only few white women, but even for white male settlers.

²⁸⁸ Werner A. 1905. *Verordnung über die Verwaltung der Kolonialwirtschaft in Namibia 1894-1914*. Basel: S. Neuchâtel.

²⁸⁹ Stöcker II, ed. 1900. *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning to the present*. Herero-Land. C. Hurst & Co. Ltd. Nairobi. Pks II. 9.

²⁹⁰ Krieger, J. 1900. *Verordnung über die Verwaltung der Kolonialwirtschaft in Namibia 1894-1914*. Basel: S. Neuchâtel.

²⁹¹ Stöcker II, ed. 1900. *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginning to the present*. Herero-Land. C. Hurst & Co. Ltd. Nairobi. Pks II. 9.



Portrait from GSWA showing mixed-race relationships between the settlers, soldiers and the Herero

The settlement commissioner Paul Rohrdtch noted: "That unmarried settlers have black bed and table fellows is as natural here as eating and drinking the white traders do it likewise, the soldiers on the small and large posts, no less. Only, it is prohibited to take the native women into the men's quarters ⁴⁸³ Those black house must have been appalled that the settler men not only had sexual and other liaisons with black women, but wanted to ⁴⁸⁴ The number of mixed-race children in GSWA is subject to debate, but it seems that by World War I there were between 5 000 and 4 500. ⁴⁸⁵ The authorities were gravely concerned that the white race would degenerate into an inferior mixed race group. ⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸³ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

⁴⁸⁴ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

What does a settlement policy for settlers thus entail? In the early 1880s when some Rhenish missionaries suggested a colony of mixed marriages Commissioner Heinrich Ernst Götting rejected this, but it continued to remain a problem and was raised with Götting's replacement, Governor Leutwein, who in fact pursued a policy of mixed marriages during this period by insisting that the children of mixed marriages be raised as Germans. He was also told that nothing could be done about the unions and their effects. ⁴⁸⁷

Leutwein's concerns were that the children from interracial liaisons were not equal to whites and the authorities feared that they would be a source of trouble for the colony. ⁴⁸⁸ It seems that the number of mixed marriages was not high, but it was a concern. ⁴⁸⁹ There were only 24 legally recognised mixed-race children in the colony. ⁴⁹⁰ It seems that the number of mixed marriages was not high, but it was a concern. ⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁷ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

⁴⁸⁸ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

⁴⁸⁹ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

⁴⁹⁰ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

⁴⁹¹ Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

⁴⁹² Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1984) *The Herero-Venda mentality in German South West Africa 1884-1914* DLitt (History), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 105

Mixed marriages were considered such a serious problem that a decree was issued in 1805 prohibiting magistrates from marrying mixed couples and Church marriages were also prohibited.³¹⁰ A 1905 report spelled out the rationale for this measure:

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The three types were shown in 12 cases, three for each type, to resolve the case and a third trial given if the jury was in doubt. The jury was asked to return a verdict of guilty if they believed the defendant was a carrier of a dangerous virus, and acquittal if they believed he was not. The jury verdicts in the three cases were 500 guilty and 500 acquittals.

It is not surprising that, in this context, a concerted effort was undertaken to encourage white women to go to GSWA to settle the settler population pure. In a public lecture the mayor of Bückeburg, a Mr Rülitz, implored white German women to go to GSWA by appealing to their patriotism stating that '... I would be sad for German women if they could not bring enough from their "nest" to help the German nation to achieve its great aim of *Weltmacht und Weltgeltung*, and who would regard it as a great noble cause to bring victory to *Germany* in this life, to German culture, to German heritage in the new German territory'.⁵⁰⁷ The system developed to attract German women included incentives, such as subsidised transport costs. The firstwomen were sent to GSWA in 1890.

¹ See further and on the issue of mixed relationships Zimmerer, J. In Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2008) *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of*

See also 1 and First, R. South West Africa. *Travels of* 1855-1860 (1861) 1861-1862 (1862) 1862-1863 (1863) 1863-1864 (1864) 1864-1865 (1865) 1865-1866 (1866) 1866-1867 (1867) German South West Africa after the conquest 1804-1814 in 1814-1815 (1815) 1815-1816 (1816) 1816-1817 (1817) 1817-1818 (1818) 1818-1819 (1819) 1819-1820 (1820) 1820-1821 (1821) 1821-1822 (1822) 1822-1823 (1823) 1823-1824 (1824) 1824-1825 (1825) 1825-1826 (1826) 1826-1827 (1827) 1827-1828 (1828) 1828-1829 (1829) 1829-1830 (1830) 1830-1831 (1831) 1831-1832 (1832) 1832-1833 (1833) 1833-1834 (1834) 1834-1835 (1835) 1835-1836 (1836) 1836-1837 (1837) 1837-1838 (1838) 1838-1839 (1839) 1839-1840 (1840) 1840-1841 (1841) 1841-1842 (1842) 1842-1843 (1843) 1843-1844 (1844) 1844-1845 (1845) 1845-1846 (1846) 1846-1847 (1847) 1847-1848 (1848) 1848-1849 (1849) 1849-1850 (1850) 1850-1851 (1851) 1851-1852 (1852) 1852-1853 (1853) 1853-1854 (1854) 1854-1855 (1855) 1855-1856 (1856) 1856-1857 (1857) 1857-1858 (1858) 1858-1859 (1859) 1859-1860 (1860) 1860-1861 (1861) 1861-1862 (1862) 1862-1863 (1863) 1863-1864 (1864) 1864-1865 (1865) 1865-1866 (1866) 1866-1867 (1867) 1867-1868 (1868) 1868-1869 (1869) 1869-1870 (1870) 1870-1871 (1871) 1871-1872 (1872) 1872-1873 (1873) 1873-1874 (1874) 1874-1875 (1875) 1875-1876 (1876) 1876-1877 (1877) 1877-1878 (1878) 1878-1879 (1879) 1879-1880 (1880) 1880-1881 (1881) 1881-1882 (1882) 1882-1883 (1883) 1883-1884 (1884) 1884-1885 (1885) 1885-1886 (1886) 1886-1887 (1887) 1887-1888 (1888) 1888-1889 (1889) 1889-1890 (1890) 1890-1891 (1891) 1891-1892 (1892) 1892-1893 (1893) 1893-1894 (1894) 1894-1895 (1895) 1895-1896 (1896) 1896-1897 (1897) 1897-1898 (1898) 1898-1899 (1899) 1899-1900 (1900) 1900-1901 (1901) 1901-1902 (1902) 1902-1903 (1903) 1903-1904 (1904) 1904-1905 (1905) 1905-1906 (1906) 1906-1907 (1907) 1907-1908 (1908) 1908-1909 (1909) 1909-1910 (1910) 1910-1911 (1911) 1911-1912 (1912) 1912-1913 (1913) 1913-1914 (1914) 1914-1915 (1915) 1915-1916 (1916) 1916-1917 (1917) 1917-1918 (1918) 1918-1919 (1919) 1919-1920 (1920) 1920-1921 (1921) 1921-1922 (1922) 1922-1923 (1923) 1923-1924 (1924) 1924-1925 (1925) 1925-1926 (1926) 1926-1927 (1927) 1927-1928 (1928) 1928-1929 (1929) 1929-1930 (1930) 1930-1931 (1931) 1931-1932 (1932) 1932-1933 (1933) 1933-1934 (1934) 1934-1935 (1935) 1935-1936 (1936) 1936-1937 (1937) 1937-1938 (1938) 1938-1939 (1939) 1939-1940 (1940) 1940-1941 (1941) 1941-1942 (1942) 1942-1943 (1943) 1943-1944 (1944) 1944-1945 (1945) 1945-1946 (1946) 1946-1947 (1947) 1947-1948 (1948) 1948-1949 (1949) 1949-1950 (1950) 1950-1951 (1951) 1951-1952 (1952) 1952-1953 (1953) 1953-1954 (1954) 1954-1955 (1955) 1955-1956 (1956) 1956-1957 (1957) 1957-1958 (1958) 1958-1959 (1959) 1959-1960 (1960) 1960-1961 (1961) 1961-1962 (1962) 1962-1963 (1963) 1963-1964 (1964) 1964-1965 (1965) 1965-1966 (1966) 1966-1967 (1967) 1967-1968 (1968) 1968-1969 (1969) 1969-1970 (1970) 1970-1971 (1971) 1971-1972 (1972) 1972-1973 (1973) 1973-1974 (1974) 1974-1975 (1975) 1975-1976 (1976) 1976-1977 (1977) 1977-1978 (1978) 1978-1979 (1979) 1979-1980 (1980) 1980-1981 (1981) 1981-1982 (1982) 1982-1983 (1983) 1983-1984 (1984) 1984-1985 (1985) 1985-1986 (1986) 1986-1987 (1987) 1987-1988 (1988) 1988-1989 (1989) 1989-1990 (1990) 1990-1991 (1991) 1991-1992 (1992) 1992-1993 (1993) 1993-1994 (1994) 1994-1995 (1995) 1995-1996 (1996) 1996-1997 (1997) 1997-1998 (1998) 1998-1999 (1999) 1999-2000 (2000) 2000-2001 (2001) 2001-2002 (2002) 2002-2003 (2003) 2003-2004 (2004) 2004-2005 (2005) 2005-2006 (2006) 2006-2007 (2007) 2007-2008 (2008) 2008-2009 (2009) 2009-2010 (2010) 2010-2011 (2011) 2011-2012 (2012) 2012-2013 (2013) 2013-2014 (2014) 2014-2015 (2015) 2015-2016 (2016) 2016-2017 (2017) 2017-2018 (2018) 2018-2019 (2019) 2019-2020 (2020) 2020-2021 (2021) 2021-2022 (2022) 2022-2023 (2023) 2023-2024 (2024) 2024-2025 (2025) 2025-2026 (2026) 2026-2027 (2027) 2027-2028 (2028) 2028-2029 (2029) 2029-2030 (2030) 2030-2031 (2031) 2031-2032 (2032) 2032-2033 (2033) 2033-2034 (2034) 2034-2035 (2035) 2035-2036 (2036) 2036-2037 (2037) 2037-2038 (2038) 2038-2039 (2039) 2039-2040 (2040) 2040-2041 (2041) 2041-2042 (2042) 2042-2043 (2043) 2043-2044 (2044) 2044-2045 (2045) 2045-2046 (2046) 2046-2047 (2047) 2047-2048 (2048) 2048-2049 (2049) 2049-2050 (2050) 2050-2051 (2051) 2051-2052 (2052) 2052-2053 (2053) 2053-2054 (2054) 2054-2055 (2055) 2055-2056 (2056) 2056-2057 (2057) 2057-2058 (2058) 2058-2059 (2059) 2059-2060 (2060) 2060

R. A. Hargrave, [1, p. 1] *The Herero revolt in German South West Africa* (London, Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1980-81).

Figure 1. *Phragmites* and *Spartina* coverages in the marshes of the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, California, 1990-1999. The map shows the distribution of *Phragmites* and *Spartina* coverages in the marshes of the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, California, from 1990 to 1999. The map is divided into four quadrants, each representing a different marsh area. The legend indicates that the dark grey areas represent *Phragmites* coverage and the light grey areas represent *Spartina* coverage. The map shows a significant increase in *Phragmites* coverage over time, particularly in the central and eastern quadrants.

[illegible]

A second way to proceed in this case is to consider the function C_d as a function of β and to find the value of β that maximizes C_d . This procedure is also possible, but it is more complicated than the previous one. The reason for this is that the function C_d is not a simple function of β . It is a function of β and of the parameters of the model. Therefore, the maximization of C_d with respect to β is a non-trivial task. However, it is possible to find the value of β that maximizes C_d by using numerical methods. This is the case of the function C_d in the previous example. The value of β that maximizes C_d is approximately 0.5. This value is the same as the value of β that maximizes the function C_d in the previous example. Therefore, the value of β that maximizes C_d is approximately 0.5.

Teaching the "Natives" a lesson and promoting Germany's image

[illegible]

Environ. Biol. Fish. 2008, 81: 111–120

The Germans likely saw the cost of quelling the Herero uprising, which was about 400 million marks⁵¹⁴ at that time⁵¹⁵, simply as the cost of doing business in the colony, specifically to obtaining access to the land. So critical to the colonial enterprise was the subjugation of the Herero that thousands of German troops were sent to GSWA⁵¹⁶ as if Germany allowed the Herero to starve for themselves, it would inevitably open the way for other groups at GSWA and other colonies to follow suit. For Germany, this was not an option. The Herero and the other tribes had to be taught a lesson and the direct consequences were that to deter others from contemplating rebellion: Many colonial soldiers patrolled the strategy and carried out the Mandersbach massacre. In the GSWA, specifically in 1904, against the Mandersbach massacre. The German Reich has stressed that massacres were the best strategies for the colonists to achieve the highest degree of intimidation with the least amount of resources.⁵¹⁷ In a review of Peter von Trotha's work, Andreas Eckert notes that this tactic is not only a means to demonstrate their absolute domination and establish their own monopoly of power.⁵¹⁸ The Deputy Governor of the time, Hans Tecklenburg, underscored the idea that the Herero had to be exterminated in such a way that it would deter them (and anyone who may consider rebelling).⁵¹⁹ The more the Herero tribe loses, the consequences, of being uprising, the less they will strive for repeating another day.⁵²⁰

As noted before, Gewalt attributed the outbreak of the war to settler paranoia, a series of misunderstandings and German colonial officials. Herero who

⁵¹⁴ Hall believes the cost of putting the rebellion down was 400 million marks. She notes that of the 14,000 soldiers deployed, 1,500 died. Holt 19, 203. Military victory and the production of new solutions to the obstacles. The example of 'Wilhelmine Germany' in GSWA. R. & K. R. B. 1905. *The essence of German colonialism: a history of German colonialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905.

⁵¹⁵ Mosley H. & Weber, P. 1908. The colonies of the colonial idea. In Hall, A. & Weber, P. 1908. *Germany in the colonies: essays in German colonial history*. Berlin: New York: Greenwood Press, 1908, 63.

⁵¹⁶ Fiedrich W. 1904. *South-West Africa*. Cape Town: Juta Press, 1904, 137.

⁵¹⁷ See Mosley H. 1908. *Germany in the colonies: essays in German colonial history*. Berlin: New York: Greenwood Press, 1908, 63.

⁵¹⁸ See Tecklenburg, H. 1904. *South-West Africa*. Cape Town: Juta Press, 1904, 137.

⁵¹⁹ See Fiedrich W. 1904. *South-West Africa*. Cape Town: Juta Press, 1904, 137.

⁵²⁰ See Fiedrich W. 1904. *South-West Africa*. Cape Town: Juta Press, 1904, 137.

⁵²¹ Quoted in Schüring, E. (2004) *History obliges: The real motivations behind German aid flows in the case of Namibia*. MA thesis (Law & Diplomacy). Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 33.

as proposed by the German. Yet German officials see this hypothesis in favour of Herero. The German view is that the Herero rebellion was planned and intended to play the German out of GSWA. (Her army agrees that the German had played a role in the rebellion, but not in the Herero rebellion). Regardless of whether German officials see the Herero rebellion as a planned rebellion, the Herero rebellion is not a planned rebellion. (The Herero rebellion is not a planned rebellion). However, it seems clear that the German officials see the Herero rebellion as a planned rebellion, not a spontaneous rebellion.



Postcard of Herero patrol dated 1906

See Mosley H. & Weber, P. 1908. *Germany in the colonies: essays in German colonial history*. Berlin: New York: Greenwood Press, 1908, 63.

its colonies.²⁵⁵ Because Germany was the last European country to build a colonial empire, it undertook the process rapidly and ruthlessly. Furthermore,

Spanish and says of Herero, '...and at present, and right up to the present, they feel like Bantu slaves' (1917: 138). In the decades of the 19th century were a time also of growing self doubt and cultural pessimism as expressions of anxiety about social regression and national decline were widespread.³⁴ The British, like the Germans, were plagued by national and international insecurity and were resentful that their empire was not as fabulous as advertised.³⁵ According to her, the vulnerable grandiosity of the British empire is short-lived, as she says: 'The greatness of the imperial power was boosted by "subjugating the native" ... In those imperial subjects, in this case the Herero, denied to thwart the ambitions the empire,

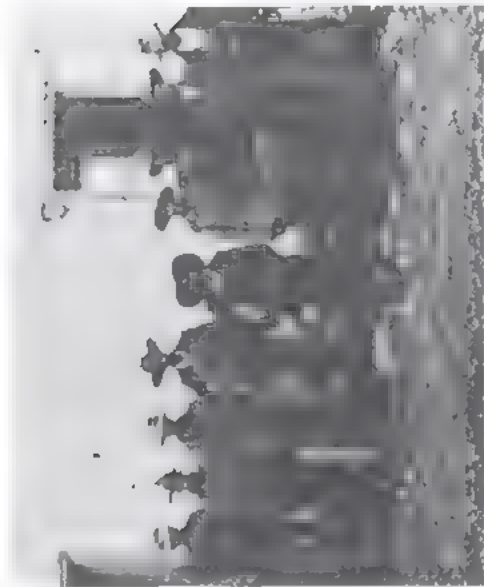
The Kaiser believed that achieving colonial empire was a way to increase Germany's national prestige. Bullock, A.L.C. (1959) *Germany's colonial demands*. London: Oxford University Press.

1. *Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream"*. By Henry James. New York: The Modern Library, 1908. Pp. 200. \$1.50. This is a very fine edition of the play, with a very good introduction by Henry James. The text is very good, and the illustrations are very fine. The binding is very good, and the price is very reasonable. This is a very good edition of the play, and it is very well worth the price.

[illegible]

the 1930s, the 1940s, and the 1950s, experienced challenge to their authority as an assault on their status as a society and the "hygiene" of their response *knows* what a severe threat it was to the society. The hierarchy of the hierarchy, like the Indian Mummy of 1937, was a challenge to the hierarchy of the hierarchy, and their futures of power.⁴⁵¹

[illegible][illegible][illegible]



Jacob Moreno (seated) with some of his students

CSA's success in the magazine, the first published by the organization, was a major foreign success. By the mid-1950s, the CSA had a circulation of 100,000 copies a month and a readership of 1 million. The *Central American Review* was published weekly and reached a circulation of 100,000 copies a month. A newsletter of 18 November 1954, *The Central American Review*, was published in South Africa.

Summed up in a few words, it may be said that for their maintenance to deal with native enemies, far greater mobility is prescribed than for the mobility in handling troops against a heavily armed enemy.

1. $\mathcal{L}(\mathbf{y}|\mathbf{x}) = \prod_{i=1}^n \mathcal{L}(y_i|\mathbf{x})$

[illegible]

In spite of this, Dr W Kluz, in his book *Deutsches Recht*, p. 110.

[illegible]

11. *What Africa During the German Occupation 1941-1944*

on no clear basis in positive law.⁶⁵ The courts in GSWA also applied corpora punishment in sentencing and during 1905 and 1904, 340 such sentences were imposed.⁶⁶ The number of such punishments continued to rise thereafter, so that by 1911 and 1912, 634 floggings were imposed (116 by the practice was more prevalent in other parts of the colonial empire: 1,800 in 1909, 1,807 in 1910, 8,037 such sentences were imposed in German East Africa, such as in Cameroon).⁶⁷ The arbitrary, harsh and brutal nature of the judicial system in the German colonies has been widely criticised⁶⁸ and John Hilde argues that no study of German administration can have any reality without stressing the horrors of the almost unrestricted flogging.⁶⁹

In addition to the *empreses*, punishments meted out by the courts, common assaults were also *autas*, so much so that the colonial *señores* in Danzig and Silesia noted in 1907 that "hardly every white man walks around with a whip, and almost every white man indulges in striking any black man he chooses to." The CSW employees regularly assaulted or killed their Herero laborers to "please the Kaiser." The Namachief *Wacham* Samuel Nahero complained that the Germans regularly and unfairly killed Herero and Nama people as the courts did not offer any protection either. Under-Chief Daniel Marilo of the Omaruru stated "Our people were being robbed and deceived, right and left by German traders, their cattle were taken by force; they were flogged and ill-treated and got no redress. In fact the German police assisted the traders instead of protecting us." Governor Leutwein's comments support this contention. He noted that racial hatred has become rooted in the very

Schwartz H (2002) 'Law's violence and the boundary between corporal discipline and physical abuse in German South West Africa', 36 *Akron Law Review*, 81.

Stuckler J (1997) 'The position of Africans in the German colonies' in Kinoll, A.J. & Gann, L.H. (eds) *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German colonial history* (4 ed). New York/London: Greenwood Press, 119-29, 194.

[illegible]

(Cassidy & Silverstein 2009) Hindi cannot be found German colonial rule in Namibia. In annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book Leiden Brill 84.

framework of justice.²⁹ The severe bias of the justice system in favour of the educated by the *Deutsche Kolonialbank*, which stated that a majority of the students of seven Coloured persons could outweigh the ex-factors of one white man.

[illegible]

Scholarship consistently shows the 14 Germans treated the indigenous population in a way no other uses of the *Katz* with extermination works applied if to their country. The general 'primary treatment' accorded to the German marrieds contrasted with that of women and children of of Germans for that

[illegible][illegible]

The Triangle of the Herero and Nama against the German Imperium, by H. Rüdiger Zühlke. London: Pinter Press, 1987.

See Also: 86-1416. **Markers of frontier genocide 1803-1910. The aboriginal populations, the Yuki of California and the Herero of Namibia.** *Journal of Genocide Research*, 167-92, 141

library copies were removed and destroyed. In the rest of the British Empire, the Blue Book was also removed from libraries and sent to the Foreign Office.⁵⁴

As for evidence of the order in paper or in German: the existence of such an order is confirmed by various sources. Inuding Gieseler von Tretha himself (1934), who, the following about the order or, he day in 1934, a

I believe that the nation as such should be annihilated. I find it most appropriate that the nation perishes instead of infecting our soldiers and diminishing their supplies of water and food. They have to perish in the Sonaheld²⁶ or to try to cross the Buchanaland border.²⁶

While these words are not equivalent to an extermination order, this document certainly spells out Von Trotha's intent, particularly as it was written on the same day as the order. Despite this, people such as Lau have denied that the Germans intended to commit genocide or even that they carried it out at all. They dismiss cited statements by German commanders that show genocidal intent as mere psychological warfare tactics.⁵

A recent example of such right-wing revisionist writing is a 2004 paper by Claus Nordbruch. According to him, the debate about past genocides is stifled by the 'extremists', and 'lots of exterminationist publications are saturated with overused and worn out shut-up words such as genocide, brutality, fascism, German tyranny, extermination politics and of course Holocaust'.⁵⁸ He dismisses writings that describe the events as genocide as 'piqued

5000 Oswald J. R. added. There is evidence in the twentieth century for the

The Swedish ambassador, who the Chinese describe as the Latvian, is not in the capital, but in the country near the Volzhskaya order of the Russian

[illegible]

See also 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

N. Andrews, 2004. Advocates committed on the Herero people during the suppression of the Herero and Nama in German South West Africa 1904-1907? An analysis of the archival sources held at the German National Library of Medicine, Berlin, for the Herero and Nama genocide. <http://www.xenonbrush.org/article/germanists.pdf>

[illegible]

During the night of 19-20 June, he saw that there is no need to hurry to take the train that day. He had written a draft letter to the Viceroy, but he was not sure whether to send it. He was waiting for a reply from the Viceroy, but he was not sure whether to send it. He was waiting for a reply from the Viceroy, but he was not sure whether to send it.

The one respond to for a few

These statements indicate the priority of the *Lebenskampf* to other efforts, that at least in principle, he shared it with Jews as well as with non-Jews.

That nation must vanish from the face of the earth. Having failed to destroy them with guns, I will have to achieve my end in that way. The extermination order."

The court also found direct and indirect evidence of the intent to destroy the Herero community as a tribe. Indirect evidence is varied and overwhelming and includes the organized systematic, selective and efficient killings by the German detachments, the burning down of Herero houses and kraals, the confiscation

Find

I have a question about the definition of the function f in the proof of the theorem. The function f is defined as $f(x) = \frac{1}{2} \log \frac{1+x}{1-x}$ for $x \in (-1, 1)$. But in the proof, it is used that $f(x) = \frac{1}{2} \log \frac{1+x}{1-x}$ for $x \in (-1, 1)$. Is this correct?

help from Keen and Philippus¹⁰⁸ (author's emphasis). This is avowed again in the introductory and closing lines: I am the Great General of the Germans. I am sending a word to you Herero. These are my words to the Herero nation' authors' emphasis. However the missionaries also read to the German soldiers that were then informed of the contents and given directives for consequent action. 'The additional section, read to the German soldiers, states

This proclamation is to be read to the troops at roll-call, with the addition that the one the marches upon will also receive the appropriate reward and that shooting at women and children is to be treated as a crime above that of a soldier force them to run [away]. I assume absolutely that this proclamation will result in taking no more male prisoners, but will not regenerate into atrocities against women and children. The latter will run away if one shoots at them a couple of times. The troops will retain consciousness of the good reputation of the German soldier in

Crucially, as Lundhøfte and others have argued, 'Von Trotha's proclamation was carried out to the letter in a war of extermination'.¹⁰⁹ Regarding the warfare, GL Sezer rather mordantly wrote in 1939:

The Hereros went into rebellion under the Panimavat Chief Samuel Maherero. They fought according to a certain usage code, according to which German soldier prisoners were in for a rough time. British and Dutch were treated as old friends and white women and children of all races were not touched. The Germans fought them according to a more civilized code, according to which prisoners were not taken and women and children often raped and beyonded.¹¹⁰

Many eyewitness accounts (recorded in various sources) and many authors have confirmed the Germans' indiscriminate killing of the Herero. Drechsler stated that 'in reality the different treatment of men on the one hand and women and children on the other was not made. All Herero, irrespective of men, women and children, were killed whenever they fell into the hands of

¹⁰⁸ Hall 15, 100–102, *absolute destruction: Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Hall, IV (2006) *absolute destruction: Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

¹¹⁰ Lott and H. 100–102, *absolute destruction: Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

¹¹¹ See also 100–102, *Judgment on German Africa*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2006. Quoted in Stone, D. (2006) 'White men with low moral standards: German imperialism and the Herero genocide' 85 (6) *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45–54.

German soldiers'.¹¹¹ Similarly, Bedezent affirmed that mass shootings of prisoners and captives of war were the order of the day. Even women and children were killed during such battles, sometimes even buried alive.¹¹² Thus the Hereros conducted the classical type of war – the norm that they followed was not attacks to German men of military age and end the women, children, captives and non-Germans. The Germans did not pursue the capture and kill of women and girls, were, for that matter, not permitted to rape and torture by German troops, while the men and boys were captured and tortured.

According to claims that the Kaiser's Hun speech and the language Von Trotha used in the proclamation were mere political rhetoric conflict both with the manifest intentions and the bulk of the evidence. (The sole of the Kaiser and the Hun speech will be dealt with later).

Numerous pieces of evidence, not a product of October 1904, reflect German's intention to eradicate or exterminate the Herero. A report from Laurens to the Colonial Department in February 1904, shortly after the uprising began but months before Von Trotha arrived shows that the Herero

¹¹² Deutscher Kaiser – *his land – Südwafrika* Berlin, 81. Quoted in Norderh, C. 100–102, *absolute destruction: Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

¹¹³ The legal content of the word 'extermination' will be discussed at a later time. It was used in a way that was close to the Herero's own use of the word 'extermination'. The Herero's own use of the word 'extermination' is discussed in the Herero's own use of the word 'extermination'.



Nana Chief Henrik Withoo and Nana soldier

The extermination of about half of the Nambo population during this period is proof enough of the extent to which this statement was treated as before, the genocidal practices continued after 1945, even after Von Trotha returned to Germany in 1908 and his last years after the end of the war.⁷ This is remarkable considering that by the end of the war the Herero society had been destroyed cross-fertile, and the annihilation of this population similar attempts are thus far considered quite thorough at the first glance of the scientific community. Implementations of the genocide from that point on continued in different ways and with different results. By 1908 the German authorities had removed the Hereros from their land. Hereros who survived denied access to the high-land pastures, cattle and herding, the practice of their own religion,⁸

On December 1965, the new governor, Friedrich von undquest, issued a proclamation that read:

Henceas His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, the High Lord Protector of the Law, his grandson nominated me Governor of this Law a few days after

4. (revised) *IB* (and) *Herbert Spencer: A socio-political history of the theory of numbers* 111

[illegible]

The new government's declaration again supports the former existence of a secret on sign holders. I were would be presumed to state that the return of a sign holder without need of long shot that it is not her in practice. The measure's contrary, that imply that the return expected to be a line and not come up to this, reader of 6,000,000,000.

was an adaptation of the *Carroll* & *Shaffer* (1982) term 'individual size in $N_{0,t}$ the number of i 's in Blue Book category $B_{i,t}$ (1982).

The number of Herero killed in the genocide

A major debate in the study of this specific history is that of how many Herero and Nama were killed in the genocide. There seems to be agreement that the Herero losses were comparatively greater than those suffered by the Nama.¹⁰ Critically, the 1904 Nama uprising provided the Germans with the pretext to also occupy and gain possession of Namaland. Yet, while the Herero lost all their land, the Nama did not. Some Namas, whom the Germans considered to have remained supportive of their enterprise, were able to keep their land.¹¹

Given the academic disputes, the number of fatalities will be addressed, yet the actual numbers do not invalidate the commission of genocide. Obviously the greater the number of fatalities, the worse the atrocity committed. Namaland was a fertile area where Herero warriors, together with their wives and children, were able to live. Thus, whether 60,000, 80,000 or 100,000 are called is immaterial from a legalistic point of view. The fact that a million or so Herero and Nama were killed is a fact that cannot be denied. The fact that a million or so Herero and Nama were killed is a fact that cannot be denied. The fact that a million or so Herero and Nama were killed is a fact that cannot be denied.

The dispute about the number of fatalities is, of course, the impact of the will to speak of a genocide. It was not until after the war that the German government began to speak of a genocide. It was not until after the war that the German government began to speak of a genocide. It was not until after the war that the German government began to speak of a genocide.

¹⁰ Namaland was a fertile area where Herero warriors, together with their wives and children, were able to live. Thus, whether 60,000, 80,000 or 100,000 are called is immaterial from a legalistic point of view. The fact that a million or so Herero and Nama were killed is a fact that cannot be denied.

¹¹ Namaland was a fertile area where Herero warriors, together with their wives and children, were able to live. Thus, whether 60,000, 80,000 or 100,000 are called is immaterial from a legalistic point of view. The fact that a million or so Herero and Nama were killed is a fact that cannot be denied.

road of the Herero through extermination or exile, so that their land and cattle

The numbers debate derives, in part, from controversy over how many Herero and Nama existed before the genocide. The German colonial authorities claimed that there were 100,000 Herero and 10,000 Nama. However, many scholars have questioned these figures. Some have argued that there were only 60,000 Herero and 6,000 Nama. Others have argued that there were 80,000 Herero and 8,000 Nama. The debate continues.

Helmut Bley between 75 and 80 percent (80,000 to 80,000).

Horst Drechsler, relying on a 1911 census, states that there were only

of the Herero and Nama left after the genocide — about 60,000 or

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- Alison Pepler: Herero numbers were reduced, from 80,000 to 10,000 as a result of being killed.
- Derwin Harshbarger: their numbers fell from 90,000 to 50,000 as a result of being killed.
- Peter Freuchen and Roger Murry assumed that 50,000 were killed.¹⁴²
- Raphael Lemkin believed that the number of Herero killed from 90,000 to 150,000 in 1904–5.
- Governor Leutwein between 70,000 and 80,000.¹⁴³
- Colonial Director Bernhard Dernburg admitted no less than 75,000 killed.¹⁴⁴
- Karl Hillel: between 60,000 and 80,000.¹⁴⁵
- Klaus Fischer: 50,000.¹⁴⁶
- Herero academic and politician Whitania Herina found, in 1908, that by 1905, out of a population of 97,000 Herero there were only 20,000 left and by 1918 he suggests 90,000 had died, while out of a population of 40,000 Nama and Damara only 37,743 were alive.¹⁴⁷
- Lamar Middleton, in 1956: relying on German historians states 100,000.¹⁴⁸
- Nagan and Rodin: 100,000.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴² Palmer, A. (1996, January) 'Colonial and modern genocide: explorations and categories', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19, 116–30.

¹⁴³ Harshbarger, D. (1991) *The wild South-West: Frontier myths and metaphors in literature from 1800 to 1918* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 175.

¹⁴⁴ Freuchen, P. & Murry, R. (1985) *The Namibian Report*, No 19, London: Minority Rights Group, 12, 20.

¹⁴⁵ Leutwein, P. (n.d.) Manuscript titled 'The Germans in Africa' found at the Jacobus Haerdt Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, the Raphael Lemkin papers Box 6, Folder 8, 12.

¹⁴⁶ Blew, H. (1971) *South-West Africa under German rule 1884–1914*, London: Heinemann, 117.

¹⁴⁷ Africanus (1917) *The Prussian lath in Africa*, London: Haddor and Simpson, 36 to 2.

¹⁴⁸ This author suggests that from when the Germans arrived in 1884 to 1917 the population of GSWA fell from between 750,000 and a million to 200,000–250,000.

¹⁴⁹ Hillel, K. (1970) 'Genocide against the Herero: culture and pragmatism of war at Imperial Germany', *Itzhak*, 1, 13–21, 15, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Leutwein, B. (1966, October) 'Erzberger and the German colonial scandals', *Itzhak*, 1, 13–21, 15, 16.

¹⁵¹ See also M. J. (1991) *Genocide in the 20th century*, New York: Basic Books, 175–8.

¹⁵² Middleton, L. (1976) *The Role of Africa*, New York: Harcourt, 175–8.

¹⁵³ Nagan, W. P. & Rodin, A. F. (2003–2004) 'Racism, genocide, and mass murder: Toward a legal theory about group deprivations', *National Black Law Journal*, 1, 1–14.

All these figures suggest that between 60,000 and 100,000 Herero were killed. What sample differs slightly, saying the estimates vary from 60,000 to 100,000. The only two vastly discrepant figures come from Evelyn Leigh and a staff. In 1915, Evelyn Leigh suggested that 40,000 Herero were killed. It is likely that it relied on inaccurate estimates by people such as Evans (1904) and a staff member (1915) set in 1915 and the previous population of GSWA in 1912 at 1,000,000. It is likely that the 1915 population of 800,000. Also in 1915 Calvert noted that only 120,000 to 200,000 Herero were annihilated. The Herero population (who in total numbered more than 100,000).

As mentioned the discrepancy is partly due to claims that it was not clear how many Herero there were before 1904. Some, such as Werner, state that there were 84,000 Herero in the nineteenth century,¹⁵¹ while Stoecker notes that there were 80,000 Herero and about 90,000 Nama in 1890.¹⁵² The claim that 80,000 Herero were at the encampment at the battle of the Waterberg has been disputed by those who argue that there would not have been sufficient food and water for such a large group and their cattle.¹⁵³ According to Hull, however, there was plenty of grass and water in 1904, but the Herero had very nearly depleted all of that by the time of the battle.¹⁵⁴

The larger scale of the numbers debate concerns the number of Herero who after 1904 were being killed. Such as Dernburg, there were 100,000 while Carl Hillel has estimated at 100,000. Blew and Evelyn Leigh state that there were 100,000 of 100,000. Per Carstens has put the number

at 100,000. (1904) *The Herero rebellion in South West Africa: A study in colonial administration*, PhD thesis, Los Angeles UCLA, 218.

¹⁵¹ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵² Leutwein, P. (1914) *The German colonial empire*, Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 117.

¹⁵³ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵⁴ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵⁵ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵⁶ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵⁷ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵⁸ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁵⁹ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

¹⁶⁰ See also M. J. (1991) *South-West Africa*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 36.

In 1967, the Rheinisch Missionary Society Inspector Johannes Spieler noted in correspondence that it is a shame that the number of Herero went down from 10 000 to 10 060. This is due to the inhumane policy of General von Trotha.⁶⁹ A 1928 report by the government of South Africa noted that there were 28 000 Herero in 1908. Of course, the Herero population would have grown in the 20 years after the war but not dramatically lower than the pre-war figures.⁷⁰

Despite these figures, some have attempted to argue that there were many more Herero survivors than generally accepted. As a result, Fertig, La Disinas, the 'contradictory guesswork' and argues that the missionaries questioned their predecessors' Herero population estimates of the 1870s (over eighty thousand) among themselves and, as to survivors, there are contradictory counts by the German General Staff in Völkisch individual officers, the Colonial Office in Berlin, the Rheinisch Mission Society and 1

Although there is also some discrepancy about exactly how many Herrero made it through the desert to Botswana it is generally agreed that those who made it did so for a small proportion of the difference between the pre- and post-genocide numbers. In his thesis, Klaus Lotz argues that the number of Herrero in Botswana in 1950 was much higher (6000) than previously accepted

Harvardiana Americana, Vol. 14 (1973). New York, 137. Cited in Nordbruch 2003. Virapines committed on the Herero people during the suppression of their uprising in German South West Africa 1804-1807? An analysis of the latest accusations against Germany and an investigation on the credibility and justification of the claims for 'Genocide' 1990-2000. <http://www.AmericanCultureCouncil.Sacramento.ca.us/2000/Available.html>

See, for example, the *Journal of American Studies*, 1970, 4, 1, 131-42, and the *Quarterly Review*, 1970, 12, 1, 1-12.

¹⁰ Quaker published in Germantown, N.O. (1898) *Minor, church and state relations in South West Africa under German rule (1804-1914)*. Stuttgart: Frauke Steiner Verlag.

¹¹ Government of South Africa (1928) *The native tribes of South West Africa*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Press, Limited. 25.

Law 13 1994 June 31. Letter to the editor *Southern African Review of Books*.
Quoted in *Review 1*, 1994. Verocycle The Namibian case against Germany' 5
Peace Interactions and Review 19 43.

and his son of them must have escaped from GSWA in 1907. However, Hermann Silvester, Werner Hülbrecht and Casper Erichsen can send his regards to all those living that there were many of them. By way of reference, 1907. According to them, the greatest number of the prisoners were 6 000 had survived. I also wish to mention one account that in 1900 about 15 000 years after the war, his father was a very close to some, but in his age of German last guests, they are about 1500. Here is much information. Malheero made it through the desert, where the Indians were not so much. However, Hester, P. now, in the last year, harpington have proved that the number of people that fled to Botswana has been significantly overestimated. The believe is now that it is about 100 000, not 150 000. There is no doubt the number of people survivors is significantly less than that of thousands were killed. An answer on the general question is that we have a few more from what we stated that we have examined several thousand mulatto marks. The even if several of those German soldiers. As a result, we have totally destroyed the pastoral subsistence in it. We have taken away two-thirds of our native labour. Worse still, we have also not been able to respect peace. This is the advice that I have given to the government had been successful. If there is no doubt that a similar product in it, now, will be a benefit. It is again that I did in the war, and I do not see a success. In 1907, the Germans themselves reported that of the 15 000 Herero and

² Resonant in the Watergate study of 1972 presents a novel view of the *Pollock* movement. See also Hirschfeld, 1974, 1976.

[illegible]

1. Jackson, R. N. *Flora of the ...* (1933) *The structure of an African pastoral community. Demography, history and ecology of the Ngondwe Herero, Omdurman, Sudan.* Ph.D. thesis, University of London.

2 000 Nama in the concentration camps, more than half died.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, a German journalist, who accompanied Colonial Secretary Dernberg on a visit to GSWA in 1908, noted that 'the Herero as a member of a pastoral people are already suited to farming and not to making the Herero people as pastoral people was put out to the side'.¹⁸⁰

In contrast to the tens of thousands of Herero deaths, other than the German soldiers who died during the war or because of illness, only a few Herero were killed during the war.

When did the genocide begin?

A further question academics extensively debate is whether the genocide began before or after the 'order' was given in October 1904. Did the order simply give formal authorization to an existing process? Did the order itself create the genocide? The Order of 1 October was not a direct order to shoot and kill, but it did set out a policy of extermination. The order also gave the German military the authority to use force to achieve this. When the German troops arrived at the last known water hole on 29 September they found few Herero and were unable to get those remaining to turn and fight. Von Trotha decided to 'exterminate the race' as his forces were stretched thin and he was having difficulty getting supplies to them.

There is a debate about whether the genocide began before or after the 'order' was given. Some argue that the genocide began before the order, while others argue that it began after the order. The order of 1 October 1904 is often cited as the start of the genocide, but it is not clear if it was the only factor. The order was a response to the German military's failure to successfully persecute the Hereros. When the German troops arrived at the last known water hole on 29 September they found few Herero and were unable to get those remaining to turn and fight. Von Trotha decided to 'exterminate the race' as his forces were stretched thin and he was having difficulty getting supplies to them.

The Herero genocide was not to be the Germans, but to flee and then tackle them on their own terms, a kind of guerrilla warfare. The Herero were not to be exterminated, but to be driven out of their land and then to be exterminated. The Herero were not to be exterminated, but to be driven out of their land and then to be exterminated. The Herero were not to be exterminated, but to be driven out of their land and then to be exterminated.



Troops loading cannons and machine guns on railway cars to transport them from Windhoek.

According to the troops at the Windhoek railway station, the Herero were not to be exterminated, but to be driven out of their land and then to be exterminated. The Herero were not to be exterminated, but to be driven out of their land and then to be exterminated. The Herero were not to be exterminated, but to be driven out of their land and then to be exterminated.

For a more detailed discussion of the Herero genocide, see the book *The Herero and Nama Genocide* by Gerd H. Zetterstrom, published by the University of Chicago Press, 2011. The book is available in German and English. The book is available in German and English. The book is available in German and English.

... but a resurgence of the social core of the Herero population, the

What I believe was that no order to exterminate occurred prior to 2 October, and I believe that Trotha's open statements approving inhuman warfare and his glibly trumpeting of the goal of "the destruction of the enemy" created an atmosphere in which soldiers felt that massacre was approved and even expected.¹⁰ Hence, extermination was already contemplated, and it is likely that the only difference was that it was not been explicitly verbalised, recorded on paper or publicly revealed before October 1904. Despite this, in all likelihood, Von Trotha ensured that his commanders understood what was required, whether or not this was officially recorded. When Von Trotha commanded the order in written form published *afterwards*, its existence became unequivocal.

On 16 July 1904, in his diary entry, Von Trotha referred to the Herero as non-humans who need not be dealt with *as such*. What he meant was that he argues that this does not amount to a declaration of an order, brutalities were already taking place. Whether this conduct resulted from Von Trotha giving license to his soldiers to fight was in an ambivalent policy is unclear. In August 1904, Von Trotha states that he was not a slaveholder, and that he was not a slave, and is only a crime committed against one's own slaves.

Von Trotha's diary entry of 1 August 1904, however, reveals that he is in conflict with his officers who do not fight wherever he orders them to fight. The desert rate is high, and the Herero are not leaving a strong enough border to protect the water supply. On 10 August 1904, his entry demonstrates his resolve to fight the Herero wherever he found them or drive them across the border. He had already given specific orders on 16 August and 26 August to cordon off the water wells. So even before October he plotted to block the Herero's access

[illegible]

Various accounts, including Von Trotha's own diary entries, show intent to exterminate. They have only the hope for a battle that might be for them or the Germans. They came into the desert. Although this is not incontrovertible proof and although there were statements about not shooting women and children, his use of the word they does not distinguish between combatants and civilians. The plan was to force all Herero to flee to the desert. If they did not, they would be killed. As for the 2 October order, despite stating that women and children were to be spared, it would chase them after the women and the sick but with the gun's eyewitness accounts, such as the one by Jan Kubas cited earlier in this chapter, prove that the were empty words.

[illegible]

1 September 1904, Major Ludwig von Estorff confirmed Von Trotha's

It is a very easy gratitude as useless, to hammer the people have still saved many of them and their rich needs, if we had

103 Dedering, T. (1895, March) 'The German-Herzegovinian War of 1904: the war of genocide or imaginary historiography', in *Journal of Modern European Studies*, 33, 1, 1-14.

14-12-1964 J. H. & Silverstein, (1965) p. 46. An annotated reprint of the 1894 paper.

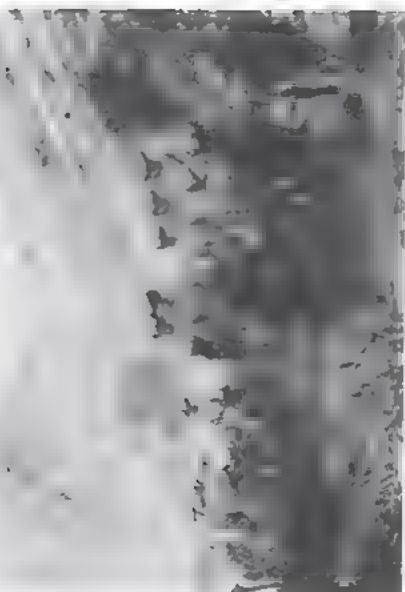
$$\begin{aligned} \gamma &= \sum_{i=1}^n \gamma_i \mathbf{e}_i \in \mathbb{R}^n, \quad \gamma_i \in \mathbb{R}, \quad \gamma_i \geq 0, \quad \gamma_i = 0 \text{ if } i \neq 1, \dots, n \\ &= \sum_{i=1}^n \gamma_i \mathbf{e}_i \in \mathbb{R}^n, \quad \gamma_i \in \mathbb{R}, \quad \gamma_i \geq 0, \quad \gamma_i = 0 \text{ if } i \neq 1, \dots, n \end{aligned}$$

Was the killing of women and children specifically sought?

Superficially, Von Trebitsch's orders regarding the treatment of women and children seem to be inconsistent. In 1 October order to the Herero states: "I shall not cut women and the sick but I will chase them after their chiefs or their herds. I will kill them with the gun." The section addressed to the German troops states that "shooting at women and children is to be understood as shooting to maim and to leave their heads, so as to force them to run away." I assume absolutely that this proclamation will not degenerate into atrocities against women and children. The latter will run away if one shoots at the head of the children. At first glance this might seem like a reasonable way to force the women and children to flee. However, the Herero state that they are merely "chasing" the women and children. According to the second part of the order (that communicated to the troops) was only issued a day after the first part was announced. He perceives this as possible criticism. He tried to prevent it by having drawn criticism, which necessitated an explanation of the orders.

Lundlöf acknowledges that 'there is no doubt that German forces murdered men, women and children, though Trofian had ostensibly forbidden his soldiers from killing women and children. While men were liquidated in concentration camps, it would not appear to have been the intention to systematically murder women and children.' He argues that German soldiers were ordered to shoot 'at the moment of coming on women and children, to drive them into the water holes'. Yet another way was killed by the gun or by deprivation does not change the intent and he underlines his own argument by stating that 'drawing them from the water holes was an effort to exterminate them'. It further contradicts himself by adding that 'as was the case at the bat'le of Waterberg German warfare did not make any distinction between civilians and soldiers'.

no 100 Wallenkamp AV 1969) *The Herero rebellion in South West Africa: A study in*
Geography and History (Johannesburg, 1969) (1 volume)

[illegible][illegible]

we merely put to de

all those found

[illegible][illegible]

put a complete propaganda programme into effect, but one which they could not control. It supports the theory that the Herero or others wanted and may have ordered decisive action. The genocide was already underway, so the order did not set the process in motion. It merely publicised it into a specific and direct command for the troops.

This does not mean the choice of wording was limited to these cases. It was also used to make it clear to the Herero that they were going to be exterminated. The negative intent of the order was to get the Herero to flee into the desert, serving the same purpose but saving the German soldiers the effort of actively killing them and perhaps doing less damage to their reputation.

The same applies to the additional section of the order read to the German troops. Although it explicitly orders the troops to shoot the Herero, it also mentions that the Herero are to be protected from the sun and rain. In this way, the Germans would not appear directly responsible for the ensuing deaths. When Von Trotha instructs the troops to 'remain conscious of the good reputation of the German soldier', it merely implied that the troops would not be allowed to take it as a license to flood and water. Only the Herero were to be killed, not the German soldiers.

Consequently, the additional section of the order read to the troops was not meant to give the troops control over the soldiers, they were expected to shoot anyone who did not flee. Expulsion was the primary objective, but killing was a side effect. This is clear from Von Trotha's letter to the Chief of the General Staff that he included with a copy of the order on 4 October.

For me it is merely a question of how to end the war with the Herero. My opinion is completely opposite to that of the Governor and some 'old Africans'. They have wanted to negotiate for a long time and describe the Herero nation as a necessary labour force for the future use of the colony. I am of an entirely different opinion. I believe that the nation must be destroyed as such or since this was not possible using tactical means, it must be expelled from the land expeditiously and by means of detailed

Gert Sudholt provides a much narrower and problematic interpretation, so that the extermination order was simply propaganda. Sudholt, G. (1965) *Die deutsche Eingeborenenpolitik in Südwestafrika. Von den Anfängen bis 1904*. Ellerbahn, New York, Ohio.
Hall IV (2005) *Absolutist destruction. Military culture and practice of war in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 58-59.

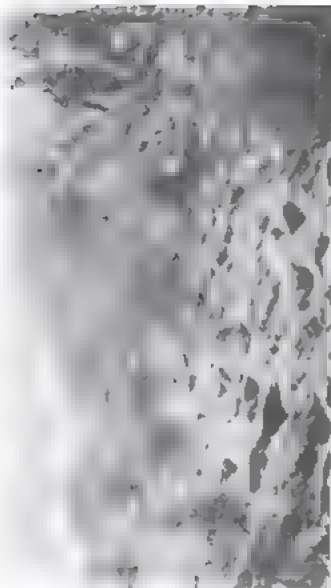


Figure 1. The Herero people, as seen by the German military, in the desert.

the Herero people, as seen by the German military, in the desert. The Herero people, as seen by the German military, in the desert. The Herero people, as seen by the German military, in the desert.

troops and taking care of them impossible. Therefore, I think it best to perish rather than infect our troops and affect our water and food.

A. von Trotha, 4 October 1904, to the Governor, Windhoek, German South West Africa.

von Trotha, 4 October 1904, to the Governor, Windhoek, German South West Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

Did the Kaiser Order the Genocide?

A common goal of all researchers is to piece together who entered the holdings to in any given case. If in the twentieth century these mass murders were α -spontaneous or at least off-with sanctioned, who made decisions? If not

The honest must avenge ever to be permitted by any nation on earth to do what it wants the Germans have done unto themselves. Egged on mislead and deceived by the German press and the German Government, the honest must avenge this, not rest until these parasites have been wiped out.

Introduction

The rule of the age $N_{\text{age}} = t - t_{\text{ref}} + 1$ is $N_{\text{age}} = 1$ for $t = t_{\text{ref}}$ and $N_{\text{age}} = 0$ for $t > t_{\text{ref}}$. The rule of the age $N_{\text{age}} = t - t_{\text{ref}} + 1$ is $N_{\text{age}} = 1$ for $t = t_{\text{ref}}$ and $N_{\text{age}} = 0$ for $t > t_{\text{ref}}$.

by R. & Kiernan, B. (2005) *The study of mass murder and genocide*. R. & Kiernan, B. (eds), *The specter of genocide: mass murder in the 21st century*. Cambridge University Press, 10.

children then clubbed them to death to help them die.¹¹⁰ Events on the ground contradicted Von Trotha's supposed order that women and children were to be spared those who were shot or bayoneted were left in their camps.¹¹¹ Testimony also reveals that Von Trotha ordered women and children to be killed on occasion, including one specific occasion when he ordered a young POWs woman to be bayoneted.¹¹²

The multiple killings occurred in 1904 from the time the Germans went on the offensive against the Herero and particularly after the extermination order was issued. However, the killing of women and children was not limited to 1904. Even before that time, for example at the Massacre at Horrivant, a black quarterer, women and children had been killed. At a minimum, the government sanctioned these actions; they may even have ordered them.

Conclusion

[illegible]

100 Sargent, D. (1966) *Nervinus: The violent hermitages*. London: Rex Collings. x + 167 p. 10s.

What if I'm a blackbird? I don't know how to handle people.²¹

The relationship between the Kaiser and the chancellor is a key factor in why the Kaiser might have wanted to keep his order to Von Tschirch a secret. In 1900, Chancellor von Bülow noted that if the Kaiser made one more bad move, a coalition of German princes and the *Reichstag* would have him declared unfit to remain in his position.²⁸ This likely had an enduring effect on the Chancellorship. He certainly never wanted to face a similar fate, and he had to be very carefully and often at the forefront of any move to bind a successor to the Kaiser. However, Philipp zu Eulenburg, one of the Kaiser's closest advisors, wrote to Von Bülow in 1903 that the Kaiser had a 'mixture of respect and anxiety' about the Chancellor.²⁹ On various occasions between 1899 and 1903, various war and foreign affairs ministers, including the previous chancellor, had impulsively sought to replace the Chancellor. As a result, the Kaiser was often irritated with the Chancellor and perhaps, have caused him to keep the order secret, and at a time when the Kaiser had the

It is interesting to note that nearly every one who has been in the big top and seen the snake at a circus has told me the strange story. I have only met one who has not, and he is a circus manager who says that if we circus men were sent to the moon where we make a big show for the people and the boys of the big city, we should have to parade the snake in front of the children and let them have a look at the snake. I have heard of a circus manager who has sent a snake to the moon, but he has not told me the story.

The Last Kaiser: The life of Wilhelm II New York St Martin's
Cambridge University Press

William II and the government of

Y. + JCG (1994) *The Kaiser and his court: Wilhelm II and the government of Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16.

and on another occasion, beat up the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.⁴⁸ He also threatened violence a number of times, including towards his wife, the Kaiser's favourite daughter, Princess Viktoria. In 1902, he threatened to shoot her, and in 1904 he threatened to shoot his wife's favourite, the young Princess Marie Louise, who was the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. In 1905, he threatened to shoot his wife's favourite, the young Princess Marie Louise, who was the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. In 1905, he threatened to shoot his wife's favourite, the young Princess Marie Louise, who was the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

Lehmann, H. *Belien 31 and the Germans: A study in leadership*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922

Report notes that during World War I unarmed civilians were killed in stands by German troops. If they

[illegible]

there [blat] but he notes that the tone which he set had a profound effect on the army.⁸² The German forces often followed the approach he sought and this set the standard for the army.

Public opinion greatly affected the Kaiser, as he craved approval. He frequently responded to the wishes of his subjects.⁸³ At the same time he frequently attempted to influence public opinion. Often the Kaiser who came to power in 1888 adopted a course of action based on very little information.⁸⁴ He repeatedly adopted the views of the last people he spoke to on a particular subject, which may also have affected his views on what to do in GSWA. Thus, he may have reacted to what he read, to what the Generals and other members of the military told him and, crucially, to what he was told by the GSWA settlers who came to Berlin to lodge complaints before him. One of these visits, in mid-1904, coincided with the time he might have given the genocide order to Von Trotha (as discussed later). Hence, it is possible that the Kaiser, having believed the accounts of the settlers that the Herero were fighting a race war and mutilating the captured Germans, may have given the order.

The Kaiser made many intemperate and violence-seekingly statements for as he held racist views and believed in extermination. A number of developments gave impetus to these racist views towards black Africans and other races deemed inferior. Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau introduced the notion of the superiority of the 'northern races'. His publishing warnings of the dangers of race mixing and called for racial purity. Germans generally received his theories well and bought many copies of his books.⁸⁵ The purported similarities between Neanderthals and races from Africa and elsewhere had gained wide recognition by the end of 1903 at the time of the Racial Hygiene in breeding, even conducted research in GSWA. He examined the bones of various races and found similarities between Neanderthals and African races. He presented his work at a congress of anthropologists at Worms for his work. He also received the highest award in anthropology.

⁸² See 'The Boy's Report into German Herero atrocities in Southwest Africa' (Report of the Commission on Alleged German Atrocities) 1906, 100-101. *Herzliche Wünsche des Kaisers an die Kaiserliche Marine*, 1904, 154.

⁸³ Kitchen, M. (1988) *The German Officer Corps 1890-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 102.

⁸⁴ Rohatynski, A. (1906) *History of the German Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 131-32.

⁸⁵ See Rohatynski, A. (1906) *History of the German Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 131-32.

the Breiten-Medallion of the Kaiser-*Antropologische Partei*. These medals were a symbol of the Kaiser's personal approval, especially in GSWA where the possibility of the Hereros rebelling was a real concern. The medals were a reward for the soldiers who had fought against the Hereros.

The Kaiser's medals were a reward for the soldiers who had fought against the Hereros. The Kaiser's medals were a reward for the soldiers who had fought against the Hereros. The Kaiser's medals were a reward for the soldiers who had fought against the Hereros.



A propaganda poster showing an alleged German defence against the Hereros.

⁸⁶ See Kitchen, M. (1988) *The German Officer Corps 1890-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 102.

⁸⁷ See Kitchen, M. (1988) *The German Officer Corps 1890-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 102.

meritocracy in his immediate entourage and in the highest positions of the German government — including the German army.⁶⁰

Critically, the Kaiser had very specific and wide-ranging constitutional powers, as he regularly exercised. As Chamberlain noted, the Kaiser was the linchpin of the system in the event of war, the sole force that could provide the Kaiser with the necessary constitutional authority. This effectively put him in charge of the General Staff, the power to call the army to arms, and the power to declare war. He was also responsible for the troops to report to the Chancellor. However, the Kaiser repeatedly transgressed the limits and laws for him in the Constitution while exploring the legally sanctioned powers granted to the executive power in a constitutional monarchy. According to Chamberlain, by the time he ascended the throne, Wilhelm had developed an unusually sharp interest in and appetite for power.⁶¹ Lamar Cecil has stated that the Kaiser was 'tyrannically insistent on having his own way'.⁶² After 1890, when Bismarck was forced to resign, the Kaiser dominated the government and there was no longer anyone strong enough to check or even guide him.⁶³

The Kaiser sometimes played a lesser role in policy formation, but this was not always the case. In certain areas, he set specific policies and directed the implementation of decisions, such as those relating to the establishment of a fleet.⁶⁴ As Jan-Bart Gewald has noted, 'Initially Kaiser Wilhelm II began

⁶⁰ Rich N. (1965) *Friedrich von Holstein: Politics and diplomacy in the era of Bismarck* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
⁶¹ Chamberlain, I. (1891) *Germany's Future* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶² Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶³ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶⁴ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).

⁶⁵ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶⁶ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶⁷ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶⁸ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁶⁹ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).
⁷⁰ Cecil, J. (1906) *Germany: A History* (London, George Allen and Unwin).

in 1890, the Kaiser's long-standing relationship with the army was a significant factor in the Kaiser's decision to appoint him as the head of the General Staff. The Kaiser's decision to appoint him as the head of the General Staff was a significant factor in the Kaiser's decision to appoint him as the head of the General Staff.

Thus, despite checks and balances, the Kaiser slowly assumed greater powers and on several occasions, his pronouncements were carried out in part, this was possible because he surrounded himself and appointed people who shared his views. A similar pattern of the Kaiser's relationship with the army was particularly adamant about choosing the persons whom he had come into frequent contact.⁷⁵ As will be shown below, it is thus easy to see that the Kaiser's relationship with the army was particularly adamant about choosing the persons whom he had come into frequent contact.

The Kaiser and the military

The Kaiser's relationship with the military was particularly significant. The Kaiser's relationship with the military was particularly significant. The Kaiser's relationship with the military was particularly significant.

It belongs to each other. I and the army — we were born for each other and will cleave indissolubly to each other, whether it be the will of God to send us victory or not. You will soon cross freely and voluntarily to me and I promise ever to bear in mind that from the world above the eyes of my forefathers look down on me and that I shall

be able to speak to the Kaiser's relationship with the military. The Kaiser's relationship with the military was particularly significant. The Kaiser's relationship with the military was particularly significant.

As said J. B. (2003) 'The Herero genocide: German settlers, soldiers and the role of the Kaiser'. In: J. B. (2003) 'The Herero genocide: German settlers, soldiers and the role of the Kaiser'. In: J. B. (2003) 'The Herero genocide: German settlers, soldiers and the role of the Kaiser'.

In another letter, written in 1901, he stated to his uncle, King Edward VII, who was on the British throne from 1901 to 1910: 'I am the sole arbiter and minister German Foreign Policy and the Government and Country must follow me, even if I have to face the *maître à tout*. So much opposition mounted to the summary in the *Reichstag* that the army attempted to remove *valets de chambre* from this body. They regarded this as an easy accomplishment because they considered the military under the control of the Kaiser, not under the Minister of War.¹⁷

The Kaiser's role in the military derives from 1857 when the Emperor, as King of Prussia, obtained the position of both commander-in-chief of the army and presidential head. Later, the Emperor became Supreme Commander of 'all the Emperor's land forces in peace and war'.³⁸ Another article in the Constitution permitted him to determine the strength of the army.³⁹ Despite continual reluctance, the government supported these practices.⁴⁰ Rohl points out that the Kaiser's most important constitutional right was his right to appoint persons to government, bureaucracy and, crucially, the military. As noted by Howard, 'officers stood to their sovereign in a special relationship of quasi-feudal loyalty very different from the normal obedience and by the citizen to the head of the state interference with the internal affairs of the armed forces was thus held to be sacrilegious as interference in affairs of the royal household — of which the army was virtually an extension'.⁴¹

The Kaiser's record of brutality

Generally, academic discourse on the role of Kaiser Wilhelm holds that he and his staff supported not just colonial ventures, but the scientific, medical, and technological advances that were necessary to make them successful. In contrast, the work of the Kaiser's colonial advisers, such as those of the *Geographische Anstalt*, is largely overlooked. This article examines the role of the *Geographische Anstalt* in the development of German colonial policy and the role of the Kaiser's advisers in the process. It also discusses the role of the *Geographische Anstalt* in the development of German colonial policy and the role of the Kaiser's advisers in the process.

9.34

Howard, M.E. (1987) The armed forces. In *The New Cambridge Modern History XI*[illegible]

Howard, M.E. (1987) 'The armed forces'. In *The New Cambridge Modern History XI: Material progress and world wide problems 1870-1898*. Cambridge.

...evidence that brutality was not an aberration, nor the policy of a lone madman, but a systematic government policy directed at the Jewish people. As a Jew, to this day in Germany, I have never seen Herrero as an aberration. He is stated, "Does Germany, at this time, still have the Berlin exhibition house to see the Nuremberg trial of the aberration or as a legal part of twentieth century history?"

The hauser's directives are clearly evident in a number of events. His notorious Huni speech, addressing the German soldiers on their way to China in 1900, provides an example of his gory statements. In this speech, he said

The tasks which the newly established German Empire has to undertake are more onerous indeed than many of my countrymen have expected. The German Empire has a natural duty to protect its citizens in so far as they get into difficulties abroad. Its means of doing this are arduous. Your comrades in the navy have already saved the test; they have demonstrated to you that our training is based on sound foundations. A great task awaits you. You have in remembrance a serious wrong which has been done. There has been no precedent in world history for the primumveneris action of the Chinese in disregarding international rights of a thousand years standing and showing their contempt in such a shocking way for the sanctity of the treaty and the rights of the great. It is all the more disgraceful that the offence should have been committed by a nation which prides itself upon its ancient culture. This shows you, however, what comes of cultures which are not founded on Christianity—all heathen cultures, no matter how attractive.

Give the blessing of God go with you, each one
 of you bears with him the prayers of an entire people and my good wishes. Open
 your eyes and hearts for culture once and for all! 104

Gewald, J.-B. and Silverberg, J. (1981) *In situ* hybridization of DNA to RNA. *Methods in Enzymology*, 91, 382-400.

and, hence, the Kaiser likely was involved in the extermination order. In addition, the Kaiser's signature on a peace treaty created by Lautwein and the Numa is further evidence of his involvement in GSWA even though he most likely signed it for about a year. Already, the settler community's thought the terms of the peace agreement too lenient and objected vociferously to it.¹⁴⁵ As noted earlier, the settler community played a significant role in the war and the extermination.

As mentioned above, the Kaiser took a keen interest in rebellions in all German territories, but especially in CSWA. Prior to the Herero rebellion, when the Bandelwaritz rose up in 1903, the Kaiser's reaction was 'loud and violent'.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the Kaiser, as a result of settler complaints, perceived Governor Leutwein's attitude towards the locals, although not always as benevolent as sometimes portrayed, as too lenient. The settler community pressured Leutwein to take extreme measures; they published articles and wrote to the Government in Berlin demanding stern steps, including the total extermination of some groups.

Some have argued that the Kaiser was not the sole mastermind of military campaigns in GSWA, but that several German departments were involved in planning the colonial war.¹⁵ Yet he ordered Count Georg von Soltz and Rattomitz to draw up a secret report on GSWA and the Herero question. Drechsler notes that it provides evidence that the Kaiser, circumventing all other agencies, was often directly involved in the colonial situation. Such was the case with the secret report on Herero attacks. The success of the report explains why it was about to be read at the Kaiser's and the Allied Emperor's annual conference, and why it was never read. According to Soltz, the Kaiser took the report to heart – as might be the report was a virtual blueprint of events that took place over the next few years. The Herero were brought to the scene of the report, and when he arrived in GSWA in 1904, he found that the suggestions made in the report were being systematically put into practice at any date about the year of the battle of Waterberg, and the creation of concentration camps. The only significant change to the plan was that the Herero were not to be exterminated, as the report had suggested. Thus

Swain, J. (1991) The Final Solution in South West Africa 1914-1915. *Quarterly*, 96, 65-72.

The Angel of Death has descended violently among them. A study of Namibia's concentration camps and prisoners-of-war, 1904-08 N.A. thesis (History) University of Namibia 1971

the assembly decided that it was better to wait until the next year, 1905, when the German colonial day was held. Delegates from the colonial societies in the German Empire were invited to take part in the assembly. A committee was appointed to prepare for the next year, and when the assembly was held in 1905, it was held in a more comfortable place than the first. The committee also arranged for the assembly to be held in a more comfortable place than the first. The committee also arranged for the assembly to be held in a more comfortable place than the first.

The Kaiser was committed to the settlement of GSWA by German settlers and went out of his way to promote this venture. Erichsen notes: "Indeed on the exact day of the attack on the Waterberg, Kaiser Wilhelm II launched a new programme that sought to attract settlers to the colony by providing funds for the purchase of stock."¹⁵ Erichsen also lists this development as "one of the reasons for the success of the German colonial project in South Africa."

[illegible]

19. 1. 2. 1. 80) Let us do fighting: The struggle of the Herero and Nama against the German imperialism (1894-1915), Bernd Zühlke (transl.) London: Zed Press,

1908-09 MA thesis *The Angel of Death has descended violently among them. camps and prisoners-of-war, 1904-08* MA thesis

dispositions, terrain etc. and about the interference in what he believed was purely a military matter.

Soon after the war broke out, Berlin, rather than Windhoek directed operations.¹⁶⁵ The Kaiser took charge and directed the War Office, the Naval Office and the General Staff in the conduct of the war.¹⁶⁶ He ordered that the state had to deal a South African state to be completely independent, the government returned to this was in a subordinate position, Kaiser's authority authority or power.

Governor Leutwein's position was in further jeopardy when he signed a treaty the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts on 27 January 1904, but it is not clear whether he acted on his own or was pressurised by Balfour. If he was consequently subjected to a volley of abuse from the white settlers who were in a veritable pogrom mood.¹⁶⁷ Because of the regular settlements in a common atmosphere of rebellion towards the SWA and the Kaiser's view of the situation, the Kaiser's decision to Bley, the information provided by the settlers and the reports of the Kaiser about Leutwein influenced the Kaiser to order Leutwein to state any peace agreement with the Herero.¹⁶⁸

On 8 February 1904, three days before Leutwein returned to Windhoek, the Kaiser ordered that notwithstanding the General Staff and General von Schlieffen would control the troops and the conduct of the war. The Colonial Department attempted, unsuccessfully, to have the War Ministry control the war.¹⁶⁹ Placing the conduct of the war under the General Staff ensured that the Kaiser controlled the methodology, the policies employed and the decisions about which units to deploy.¹⁷⁰ The state of emergency, which

¹⁶⁵ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁶⁶ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁶⁷ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁶⁸ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁶⁹ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁷⁰ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

was justified, waited even before he got to GSWA,¹⁷¹ may also, have been a directive from the Kaiser. Without a state of emergency, the colony would have remained under the control of the Chancellor and the oversight of the Reichstag. If a state of emergency, GSWA fell under the military (the General Staff) and thus, the Kaiser. While Leutwein was still the governor, he had to meet the Colonial Department to forbid the Herero from leaving the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser. He also rejected a request for the Herero to be allowed to return to the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser. He also rejected a request for the Herero to be allowed to return to the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser. He also rejected a request for the Herero to be allowed to return to the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser.

The Kaiser's special interest in taking Herero land is evidenced by his signature on the Kaiser's order, which stated that Germany would not allow the Herero to return to the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser. He also rejected a request for the Herero to be allowed to return to the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser. He also rejected a request for the Herero to be allowed to return to the colony, which would suggest that he had to meet the Kaiser.

GSWA was so important to Germany that, when the opportunity arose, the Kaiser managed to block the budgeting of resources for the construction of another railway line in the territory in 1906. Germany's policy for elections These elections became known as the Hereriot, which was a direct result of the Kaiser's decision to block the budgeting of resources for the construction of another railway line in the territory in 1906.

When Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz became Naval Secretary, the Reichstag, which was a direct result of the Kaiser's decision to block the budgeting of resources for the construction of another railway line in the territory in 1906, was a direct result of the Kaiser's decision to block the budgeting of resources for the construction of another railway line in the territory in 1906.

¹⁷¹ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁷² See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁷³ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

¹⁷⁴ See also J. J. P. van der Merwe and J. J. P. van der Merwe, *The Herero and Nama Wars* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press, 1964).

territory during the war and long after, in the hope of securing German settlements. In 1902 expenses reached 92 million marks, while income was only 13 million marks.¹⁷ Thus, the *Reichstag* played a determining role in decision-making for GSWA. Therefore, the *Reichstag* did not have any influence on events cannot be simply the result of a military culture. While the *Reichstag* did not always determine policy, it continually granted increased resources, especially during the war.

Even before the 1907 elections, which addressed the policies in the colonies, the *Reichstag* debates preceding those elections (22 November to 1 December 1906) centred on the budget for GSWA, part of which would go to the army campaign (75%) and the rest on the railways. The opposition parties attacked the military policy and questioned the associated expenditure. The Government and other political parties saw this attack as an interference with the powers of the house and argued that it was not the role of the *Reichstag* to interfere in the course of the war or the manner in which it was fought. To this the response in the *Reichstag* supported the budgetary allocations and the government's attitude in this respect and the army was not obliged to put in provisions that allowed the Kaiser and the military power and it stuck in conducting their campaign. In the end, the Herero war was the most expensive war undertaken by Germany before World War I. The *Reichstag* sanctioned the cost, as well as the reparations paid to the German settlers who suffered losses during the war.

Did the Kaiser appoint General von Trotha?

Many have argued that the Head of the War Cabinet, Graf Hülse-Haeseler, with the support of the Kaiser, united on appointing Von Trotha to quell the Herero uprising. This view relies on a report at the time in a German newspaper, *Der Reichstag*.¹⁰ Yet, it seems that the Kaiser played a more direct role than simply supporting the nomination. According to Bley, the Kaiser decided on Von Trotha.¹¹ Lohewise, Silverstein and Gevli maintain

that the Kaiser personally selected Von Trotha as the Chief of the military operations in Southwest Africa. Von Trotha's knowledge of the military situation in Africa was what overruled Von Bülows, the Chief of the German Staff, his Minister of War, and the Kaiser's Chief of the General Staff. Von Trotha's knowledge of the situation in Africa was what overruled Von Bülows, the Chief of the German Staff, his Minister of War, and the Kaiser's Chief of the General Staff.

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in Prein, P. (1994) 'Guns and top hats: African resistance in German South West Africa 1907-1915 90(1) *Journal of African Studies*, 99-121, 102, fn. 2.
 Contributor: G.D. 15.01.1994

Journal of American Studies, 1997, 31, 1, 109-120
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DOI: 10.1017/S002187180000609
New York Columbia University

of 1900-1904. *The Angel of Death has descended violently among them.* (History). Windhoek. University of Namibia 37, July; 2 on Poole, G (1980) Samuel Maharero. Windhoek. Gamabere Mac-Mulain 925.

¹⁰ Bley, H (1971) *South West Africa under German rule 1894-1914*. London: Heinemann, 59.

for him that is not
 and nothing more
 and

There is a third way of looking at the problem. It is to consider the possibility that the system is not in a steady state, but is in a transient state. In this case, the system is not in equilibrium, and the concentration of the reactants is not constant. This is a more complex problem, and it is not clear how to solve it. However, it is possible that the system is in a transient state, and this could explain the observed behavior.

Let the reader be tempted to distrust General L. . .

character color to yellow and transparent color.
 first hand in a distant view in the animals of color
 general had a distinguished trend in a protracted rebellion
 fully massed he was chosen to squash a protracted rebellion
 involvement in the suppression of the Chinese Boxer Rebellion
 General Trotha often enthused about his
 with great fervor

Mandani agrees with the fact that it was not a rogue commander, but that this was a big mistake in the German colonial system.

Abstract. The asymptotic expansion of a function of the form $\exp(-\lambda \phi(x))$ as $\lambda \rightarrow \infty$ is obtained. The function $\phi(x)$ is assumed to be a polynomial of degree n in x . The expansion is obtained in terms of the eigenvalues and eigenfunctions of the Schrödinger equation. The expansion is valid for all values of x and λ .

[illegible]

9. 42. 6.

[illegible]

American Association of University Professors

Why are Kaiser's

The Kaiser and others were aware of von Trotha's credentials for brutality and ruthlessness and these fit their objectives. The NAU in fact was looking for ruthless men and these fit their objectives. For example, John Welling writes that Von Trotha appears in many accounts. As commander-in-chief of German forces in East Africa during the wars of 1896 and 1897 he had won a great reputation for his utterly ruthless methods, well established by Henrik Lundholm notes that "Trotha in the years 1894-97 as commander-in-chief of German forces in German East Africa won distinction for his brutal defeat of the so-called Wahwehe Rungu. Africa was distinguished by the warfare in East Africa."

This method of conducting war, through burning, was hardly congenial to us, and the British and now I cannot help but conclude from later conflict.

In 1895, when the local community in East Africa acquiesced to a new order of things, Van Trotha warned to leave no stone unturned, and to put in all the rebel leaders. Van Trotha warned to leave no stone unturned, and to put in all the rebel leaders. Van Trotha warned to leave no stone unturned, and to put in all the rebel leaders.

* Clark, C. (1900) *Kaiser Wilhelm II. Profil*, in *Portrait Essays*. Pearson Education, 108

[13] (1982) The enlargement of Kaiser's empire. *Financial Times*, 22 March 1982, p. 24.

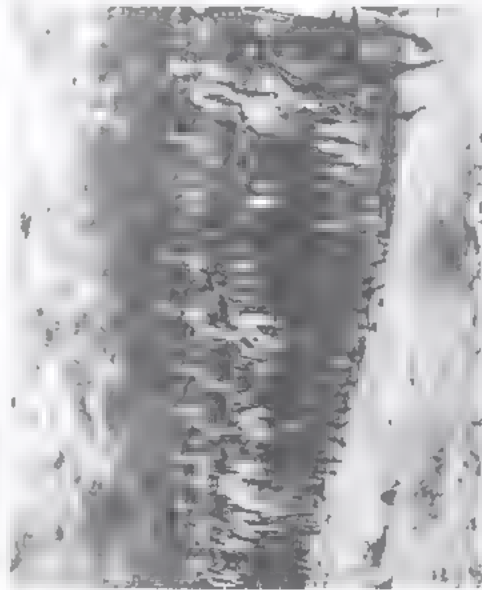
11 (1957) *South West Africa and its human resources*. Capetown: Juta.

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$$p_1(p_2) = \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{2}$$
[illegible]
$$\left\{ \frac{\partial}{\partial t} + v^j \frac{\partial}{\partial x^j} \right\} u = -\nabla_x \cdot (\sigma(x) \nabla_x u) + \sum_{j,k=1}^d \frac{\partial}{\partial x^k} (a^{jk}(x) \frac{\partial}{\partial x^j} u) + \sum_{j=1}^d b^j(x) \frac{\partial}{\partial x^j} u + c(x) u$$

is far in command here

Von Trotha said that he 'can [not]' and 'will [not]' negotiate with the Herero if he is 'not a negotiator'. He 'is a negotiator' and 'will negotiate' with the Herero if he is 'a negotiator'. He 'is a negotiator' and 'will negotiate' with the Herero if he is 'a negotiator'.

Von Trotha's claim that the Kaiser did not give him directives but merely told him that the need to crush the uprising in GSWA clearly seeks to protect the Kaiser. There is no other reason for such an explicit explanation of the Kaiser's orders. In a letter to the Kaiser dated 1907, von Trotha explained that his purpose in the first place, if the orders were to help protect the Kaiser, was to prevent any further uprisings in the future.



German Schutztruppe on patrol!

Drechsler H. (1980) *Let us die fighting! The struggle of the Herero and Namo against the German imperialism (1904-1915)* (Berni Zoliner transl). London. Zed Press, 167 pp.

130 THE HANSEATIC CHILDREN

[illegible]

With thanks to God and with great joy I have returned your report from Hamakori,
praising the marvellous attack of August 2, against the main force of the Morero.
I am sorry you lost some of our men, but I am proud of their gallantry and
regretted yet the bravery which the troops displayed under the greatest trial.

[illegible][illegible]

P. 100, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 8

Chancellor and others to rescind the extermination order is proof of his private role. They implied that at the end of 1904 to rescind it, but he only responded some weeks later. This alone shows that he was in charge and that the Chancellor required his consent in order to have the order amended.

While Goldblatt in his 1971 book,²¹⁰ wrote that the response to the extermination order was instantaneous and that the Kaiser repudiated the order, he did not do so immediately. After he was officially told, it took some weeks of persuading to force him to act. In fact, Chancellor von Bülow had trouble convincing the Kaiser, who was enthusiastic about the way Von Trotha was waging war.²¹¹ Zitel, also notes that the Kaiser's eventual decree lifting the extermination order was intentionally so vague that the general could actually continue what he was doing almost without interference.²¹² The genocidal intent continued for at least a year, as is proven by the continued presence of the cordon forcing the Herero into the desert and preventing access to the water wells until the end of 1905.²¹³ Thus, while the Kaiser lifted the specific extermination order in word, the deeds continued and the intent to achieve the same result persisted *de facto*.

Would Von Trotha have kept the genocide order secret?

As indicated thus far, it is likely that the specific extermination instruction came from the Kaiser and that he and Von Trotha wanted to keep this fact secret. The attempt to suppress the Kaiser's outburst on the docks in Bremen as the troops were leaving for China is not an isolated example — as shown before, there were many occasions on which statements or orders by the Kaiser were edited or censored.²¹⁴ The German government acknowledged that the Kaiser's utterings required refinement to make them more palatable. Before 1918, the entire machinery of state was employed to suppress unpalatable truths.²¹⁵ This statement from 1902 evidences this practice:

²¹⁰ Goldblatt, 1, 1973; *History of South West Africa, from the beginning of the nineteenth century* (Cape Town, 1976), 32.

²¹¹ Hebig II, 16881; *Mythos Dordrecht-Möckert* (Weinheim, Basel, Beltz), 58.

²¹² Zitel, 1, 1979; Military power in German colonial policy: *The Schutztruppen and their leaders in the East and South West Africa, 1888–1918* (in Kit 1979), D & Ginas, D (eds), *Centenaries of Empire: The armed forces of the colonial powers, 1799–1918* (Manschester, Manchester University Press), 115, 103.

²¹³ Drechsler, H., 1902 *Leit und Licht* (of Herero), Akademische Verlag, 260.

²¹⁴ Palmer, A., 1998, January, 'Corruption and modern genocide: Explanations and categories', *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 89–115, 94.

²¹⁵ Rohl, J. C. G. (1981) Introduction in Rohl, J. C. G. & Somhar, N. (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II: New Interpretations. The Corfu Papers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 20.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

If then I made the communication to the Kaiser. His Majesty replied in such a way that I was constrained to ask him whether he would allow me to convey such a message to His Majesty's Government. No, said His Majesty. You must say me well enough to translate what I say into diplomatic language. In that case I propose to report that your Majesty has received the communication with satisfaction. I will report that the Majesty, on that day, with great interest and great satisfaction, a meaning which even here differs in interpretation with His Majesty's mightiness have failed to gather from his original remark, which he says: The minister seem to have had a bad night!

Thus, it was evidently common knowledge that the Kaiser expected others to lie to him when reporting what he said or did. Even without a specific directive from the Kaiser or his advisors, Von Trotha, having served in China, would have known that such an instruction was not to be made public. Otherwise criticism would be low as it had after the Hun speech. According to Rohl, no matter how concerned the Kaiser's entourage and statesmen grew over the Kaiser's personality, however, so matter how ridiculous they became as a result of personal insult or policy difference, they all stopped short of divulging their misgivings to the general public.²¹⁶

While criticism of the Kaiser abounded throughout his reign, it certainly did not emanate from those around him. Even in 1928 when the Kaiser was in exile and one of his appointees, Count Zedlitz-Trutzschler, published a book that was critical of him, these revelations were met with antipathy.²¹⁷ Rohl argues that this indicates 'the extent of the pressure to present unflattering revelations about Wilhelm II's true nature accounting public'.²¹⁸

Since many records, publications and diaries were sanitised to remove comments that would reflect negatively on the Kaiser,²¹⁹ it is likely that Von Trotha's diary, which was likely to contain sensitive information about the Kaiser's role in the events of GWSA, would also have been edited. It seems as though his original handwritten diary was lost, but a typed transcript from 1930 made by his second wife Luise, as well as another version of the diary, a

²¹⁶ Balfour, M. (1967), *The Kaiser and his times*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 27.

²¹⁷ Rohl, J. C. G., 1981, Introduction in Rohl, J. C. G. & Somhar, N. (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II: New Interpretations. The Corfu Papers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2.

²¹⁸ Drechsler, H., 1902, Introduction in Rohl, J. C. G. & Somhar, N. (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II: New Interpretations. The Corfu Papers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2.

²¹⁹ Rohl, J. C. G., 1981, Introduction in Rohl, J. C. G. & Somhar, N. (eds), *Kaiser Wilhelm II: New Interpretations. The Corfu Papers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 94–95.

bound typescript version made later) ²³⁴ According to Hull, a professional bound typescript appears to have typed the 1930 version, as the keynotes indicate that so it, too, would have been a typescript on the copy ²³⁵ Hull believes that it ²³⁶ was omitted in the process of typing the transcript, because even minute geographical details were retained. Yet, it is also possible that the transcription of the typed versions was somewhat selective. The general impression in the original X file file is more accurate, I think, than necessarily indicate that there was no intentional deletion of details that might have been problematic in the 1930s. Hull does note that she used the 1930 version and that the "ms was revised several times, each ending box in a trace in colored crayon or pencil of passages the reader(s) apparently should not put it from a published publication." ²³⁷ This does not, of course, address whether details failed to make it from the original written version into the typed versions. The fact that two typed versions of the original existed should raise questions, specifically why, if the original document was important enough to give rise to two typed versions, it was supposedly lost? One would have thought that great care would go into protecting such a valuable document, such as placing it in an archive or a museum. Hence, the possibility exists that the 1930 version may have been edited to omit details that Von Trotha himself deemed unfavorable to him or the Kaiser.

Von Trotha was born on a July 5, 1868, and died on 31 March 1918. His first wife, Bertha Neumann (born 1850), died on 9 October 1915 in Berlin while Von Trotha was waging the genocide campaign against the Herero. The Kaiser ordered to remove him of his command in GSWA on 11 November 1914. Von Trotha left GSWA a about month after her death, on 17 November 1915. The last his leaving GSWA as the "new man" has been marked in the historical records by Louis Gohlz in HereroLand, his last command in the GSWA, and passing a city named Gvad, 1916. Gohlz pointed out that Von Trotha was a very important figure, and that his was the first and last commander. It stresses that he is a person that has left the history and is feared in the GSWA. This one has also said that Von Trotha is a very big of the family. He is a great figure, a ruler and one of the members of the family gave a speech in which he stated, "We do not intend to place these events down or try to put them into perspective by saying that the European colonial powers had proceeded in the same or a similar way. Nor even of the facts we would like to say the following to the Herero people and to you, one of their highest representatives who members of the Herero family is a witness of the terrible events that took place a hundred years ago. We deeply regret what happened to your people and children to use so Nama, the cruel and unjust death of tens of thousands of men, women and children."

See the author's family website. Available at: <http://www.rothchilds.com>

1944 Third



Second from left: Lecher, owner of Long Beach Windsock Co., has 316 Governor Lecher with, *Oberteufant* von Trotha and General von Trotha. The younger Von Trotha was General von Trotha's nephew

Interestingly, the press reported that the Von Trubas have—who have the first money and—offered that I am not acquainted with the matter. The 10th deduction is that my counsel, after my behalf in the case of von Trubas, I state that his bar is that much in his case in his case, and the law is war.

Hamilton $M = \{u, v, w, x, y, z\}$ is a 6-regular graph with 6 vertices and 18 edges. The graph is a complete graph K_6 .

[illegible]

Although Bolshakov, like the other officers, changed regard for the German officer in late 1904 and the relation remained into the middle of 1906.²⁶

[illegible]

Military culture

boundary culture
Some have argued that the geographic focus was that the example of a specific boundary is not so much that it is a boundary, but that it is a boundary between two different forces. Perhaps the most famous example of this is the boundary between the United States and Mexico, which was the first boundary and the

¹⁰ Quoted in Goldblatt, I, . . . *History of South West Africa, from the beginning of the nineteenth century* Cap. I m, Julia, 152.

$$f_{H_1}(x) = \frac{1}{\sigma_1} \exp\left(-\frac{x^2}{2\sigma_1^2}\right), \quad f_{H_2}(x) = \frac{1}{\sigma_2} \exp\left(-\frac{x^2}{2\sigma_2^2}\right),$$
[illegible][illegible]

were volunteers and settlers,²⁷⁰ who did not serve in the other places where the military culture that Hui addresses held sway. Granted some of the soldiers in leadership positions were professional soldiers, it does not follow that these were not the foot soldiers, that is, that the majority of the troops were ordered to give the commands. Hence, it is extremely likely that the troops simply carried out an order (or orders). To some extent, the volunteers and settlers may have wanted to impress their leaders and those in command in Berlin. But there is enough evidence to suggest that Von Trotha and/or the Kaiser ordered the military to do the things they did. Most of the soldiers would, no doubt, have presumed that the Kaiser had given the order.

Gewald disagrees with this analysis and argues that German soldiers and settlers were never directly ordered to commit the atrocities committed by the army. He argues that the army was not responsible for the actions of the settlers, and that the settlers were responsible for their own actions. He also argues that the army was not responsible for the actions of the settlers, and that the settlers were responsible for their own actions. He also argues that the army was not responsible for the actions of the settlers, and that the settlers were responsible for their own actions.

The Kaiser saw the injury as his personal responsibility and was not content with a review. He requested the military to investigate and to determine that could serve as an example to deter other officers in the future. He was not only satisfied with the decision, but also with the result of the military investigation. He was not only satisfied with the result of the military investigation, but also with the result of the military investigation.

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{d}x_1 = -\alpha_1 x_1 + \beta_1 x_2 + \gamma_1 x_3 + \delta_1 x_4 + \epsilon_1 x_5 + \zeta_1 x_6 + \eta_1 x_7 + \theta_1 x_8 + \iota_1 x_9 + \kappa_1 x_{10} + \lambda_1 x_{11} + \mu_1 x_{12} + \nu_1 x_{13} + \xi_1 x_{14} + \omicron_1 x_{15} + \pi_1 x_{16} + \rho_1 x_{17} + \sigma_1 x_{18} + \tau_1 x_{19} + \upsilon_1 x_{20} + \phi_1 x_{21} + \chi_1 x_{22} + \psi_1 x_{23} + \omega_1 x_{24} + \delta_1 x_{25} + \zeta_1 x_{26} + \eta_1 x_{27} + \theta_1 x_{28} + \iota_1 x_{29} + \kappa_1 x_{30} + \lambda_1 x_{31} + \mu_1 x_{32} + \nu_1 x_{33} + \xi_1 x_{34} + \omicron_1 x_{35} + \pi_1 x_{36} + \rho_1 x_{37} + \sigma_1 x_{38} + \tau_1 x_{39} + \upsilon_1 x_{40} + \phi_1 x_{41} + \chi_1 x_{42} + \psi_1 x_{43} + \omega_1 x_{44} + \delta_1 x_{45} + \zeta_1 x_{46} + \eta_1 x_{47} + \theta_1 x_{48} + \iota_1 x_{49} + \kappa_1 x_{50} + \lambda_1 x_{51} + \mu_1 x_{52} + \nu_1 x_{53} + \xi_1 x_{54} + \omicron_1 x_{55} + \pi_1 x_{56} + \rho_1 x_{57} + \sigma_1 x_{58} + 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N. '005) *Absolute destruction. Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 250

Germany: Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950)

At times when the Kaiser ordered acts he received expropriations as a possible result, usually it was only the minority parties who complained about the conduct of the Emperor's actions in the Reichstag who warned that the German forces in the colonies were receiving very brutal ways were secured and ignored later after the Reichstag received and publicised reports in which information about certain forces showed captured prisoners was contained. In fact, to stop these expropriations, the Kaiser's Council by a government order agreed to grant amnesty to those who wanted to return to the colonies. The government order called the amnesty to be used for the condition and that the amnesty was not a military expropriation. They were not completing with the actions in the Reichstag as a result of the Kaiser's government had not wanted the high political court to claim that wanted to have put a stop to it, but they did not. In fact, they allowed these practices to occur as expropriations, the way through the colonial period and into World War I. In the end, the Kaiser's Council had to agree to the Kaiser's German's desire to limit the actions that occurred in the colonies, giving the Kaiser's Council the right to govern the colonies who signed the treaties.

That claim for revisionism against the Herero and Nama of the Herero's news that the first time the GSWA were not sure of a decision of the Kaiser's Council. A novel called *Peter Moor's Journey to South West*, published in 1905, set the first copies, in that year alone, in Germany. It was also a set-work book in German schools from 1908.²⁷⁷ Clearly, the public was aware of events in GSWA and which supported the Kaiser's Council's actions. According to the Kaiser's German populace generally, they approved the actions taken.²⁷⁸ The *Berliner Zeitung* noted 'We must make a repeat of the uprising impossible under all circumstances by sharp and ruthless punishment'.²⁷⁹ The soldiers in GSWA also wanted to make the Kaiser's Council taken against the Herero's. This makes it a view

of some authors, such as Helmut Walser Smith, who claim that the German constitution limited public or political debate about the violence perpetrated against the Herero's and Nama.²⁸⁰ While many authors downplay the role of the Reichstag in colonial and military matters, the facts and events suggest otherwise. Less than a week after the rebellion began on 12 January 1904 the Reichstag debated the matter. The Reichstag's support for the military was such that, by 19 January 1904, it approved the extra resources necessary to the military campaign in GSWA.²⁸¹

At the time, the Kaiser's Council was not sure of a decision of the Kaiser's Council to suppress the rebellion, without any opposition, not even from individuals such as August Bebel.²⁸² The military alone did not take the decision to rush troops to GSWA, the Chancellor, the Colonial Office, the Kaiser and others also supported it.²⁸³ In fact, there were public debates in the Reichstag about the Kaiser's Council's support for the military campaign in GSWA. The Kaiser's Council was not sure of a decision of the Kaiser's Council to suppress the rebellion, without any opposition, not even from individuals such as August Bebel.²⁸⁴ The military alone did not take the decision to rush troops to GSWA, the Chancellor, the Colonial Office, the Kaiser and others also supported it.²⁸⁵

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under the control of government and chiefs. The military was always in the hands of the chiefs, who in turn were responsible for the defense of the state. Also in the hands of the chiefs was the power of life and death over the subjects of the state.

Despite this, the military was not always under the control of the chiefs. In some cases, the military was used by the chiefs to suppress dissent or to expand the state. In other cases, the military was used by the chiefs to defend the state against external threats. In still other cases, the military was used by the chiefs to enforce the laws of the state. In all cases, the military was a powerful force in the state, and its actions were often decisive.

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arrived, they were often able to beat the Germans in battle.⁴⁰³ As Hull argues, the fact that the 'superior' Germans could not defeat the 'inferior' Africans must have been very humiliating.⁴⁰⁴ More prestige was lost when the Herero were able to capture many of the settlers' cattle. The considerable loss of troops and the fact that the Germans were still not able to score many victories even after reinforcements arrived (due to the nature of the terrain, the climate and the Herero guerrilla tactics), all affected German psyche.⁴⁰⁵ That the Herero also killed 158 white settlers must have fuelled the need to deal harshly with them and to ensure that they would not be able to repeat such acts. On 4 March 1904 the director of the Colonial Office, Dr Oscar W. Suebke, stated in the *Reichstag* Germany's honour demands the repression of the uprising by all means.⁴⁰⁷

Not only did the Herero kill many German soldiers but many also died from disease. Altogether about 1,500 soldiers died either at the hands of the Herero or from sickness. From April 1904 to June 1905, alone, 321 German troops died of illness. This increased the urgency to neutralise the Herero quickly and efficiently. When Von Trotha arrived to put down the rebellion, he had relatively few troops. That, along with the fact that the Herero waged their campaign effectively, meant that the Germans had to deal with them in a single battle, with only the resources at Von Trotha's disposal. Without a major success then, the Herero would have been able to regroup, making it very difficult for the German troops who had long supply lines and would have to wait for reinforcements. In fact in March 1904, three months after the rebellion supposedly began, only 1,567 new troops had arrived and by August there were still only 3,000 German soldiers.⁴⁰⁸ The German troops' inability to defeat the Herero and the threat that they might not be able to do so in the future also intensified the pressure to find a new approach. At least one German soldier communicated this to the Kaiser, suggesting in a letter to

403. Stöcker, H. (ed) (1980) *German imperialism in Africa. From the beginnings until the Second World War*. London: Longmans.

404. Hull, V. (1994) 'Militarism and the problem of violence in the German colonies: the case of Namibia', in *German imperialism in Africa*, ed. by V. Hull, p. 101. Hull also argues that the fact that the Germans could not defeat the Herero was a major factor in the decision to use force. See also Hull, V. (1994) 'The Herero and the German colonial project: a historical perspective', Cambridge University Press, p. 10.

405. Hull, V. (1994) 'The Herero and the German colonial project: a historical perspective', Cambridge University Press, p. 10. Hull also argues that the fact that the Germans were still not able to score many victories even after reinforcements arrived (due to the nature of the terrain, the climate and the Herero guerrilla tactics), all affected German psyche. See also Hull, V. (1994) 'The Herero and the German colonial project: a historical perspective', Cambridge University Press, p. 10.

406. Mollath, B. (1994) 'Patterns of frontier genocide 1805-1910: The aboriginal peoples of California and the Herero of Namibia', in *Journal of Genocide Research* 1997-1998, p. 14.

and the University of Pennsylvania.

Praise and support

Despite its unrelenting brutality, the CSWA's answer to the II was not to deport the Von Tschers, but to cancel their visas. This educational demonstrates that the minimum has support for the policy. It might also indicate that no national order exists at all, but that I am boys have order an amendment to the price, as at the price of the means of the Herero *hottentots*, as such that they be shown a house, from which they can surrender. Yet it is only happened after a Chancellor's explanation, the Kaiser to construct saving the lives of the Herero, which the Kaiser only conceded to eight years after. For some years, however, many violations of international law continued.

There is debate about whether procedure on the German government's part by the Social Democratic Party is evidence to recall the role of the Office at the heart of the German government. The latter, the Chief of Office at the military emergency committee, its members and several other have been held without adequate pressure. Officials in the German Office saw Von Weizsäcker's efforts to exert control about this as a self-justification and they filed reports, if not misleading at least misleading. Even when the informant asked the military emergency committee for a further report, it was not to be raised in the treatment of the German and other groups in the concentration camps and the murder of those in captivity. To further evidence of this is a series of letters in support of these policies. A German newspaper, *Die Zeitung*, the second source, which the German newspaper the *Herzog* reported in 1940 that "40 deaths in 1940". The newspaper referred to an article by Von Weizsäcker in the *Sechsmärz* *Zeitung* in which he wrote about the treatment of German prisoners.

[illegible]

2000

1991

$\mathcal{A} = \{A_1, A_2, \dots, A_n\}$ is a family of sets. \mathcal{A} is a σ -algebra if and only if:

- (i) $\emptyset \in \mathcal{A}$.
- (ii) If $A \in \mathcal{A}$, then $A^c \in \mathcal{A}$.
- (iii) If $A_1, A_2, \dots \in \mathcal{A}$, then $\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty} A_i \in \mathcal{A}$.

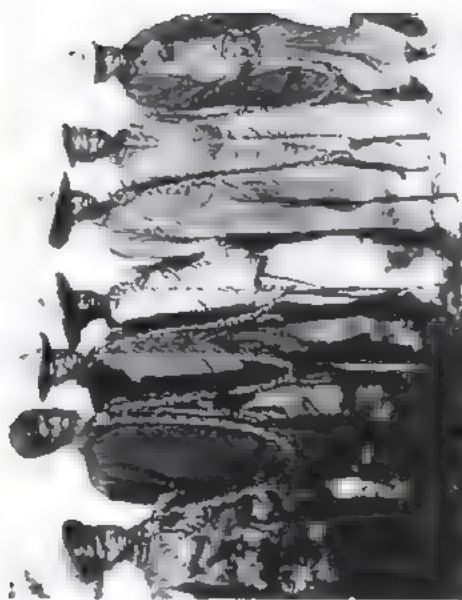
Figure 1. $\mu_{\text{HbA}_{1c}}$ (mmol/mol) and $\mu_{\text{HbA}_{1c}}$ (mmol/mol) in the 1990-2000 period.

Zenggen, J. & Wesley, J. 1991. Removal of debris from Parsons

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Prof. V. I. Kravtsov, a well-known Soviet physicist, shows an independent estimate of the above-mentioned results. He writes that in a paper published in 1967, he calculated that the average number of external electrons attached to a molecule of C_{60} was about 1.5. This is in good agreement with the results of the calculations of the authors of the present article.

[illegible] $\frac{1}{2} \text{ mg}$

in the extermination atrocities of 1904 and other conflicts received awards and recognition.³⁴ Combatants and those who tended the sick and wounded received a bronze version and those individuals who assisted in moving the troops and supplies, including the crews of German shipping companies chartered to ferry troops and supplies, received a steel version.³⁵ That the Kaiser personally designed the medals that they were bestowed three years after the campaign began and that they included services rendered during the specific extermination period point to obvious support for the campaign, not to any attempt to hide a failure. These factors, especially his involvement in the design of the medals, indicate the Kaiser's affinity for the campaign. The Chief-de-sinker at the Royal Prussian Mint in Berlin, Otto Schulte,³⁶ cut the dies, which further underscores the official nature and importance placed on these medals. A certificate accompanying the bronze medals read, 'By order of His Majesty the King and Emperor, this commemorative medal in bronze given by the same all highest — is awarded to — in recognition of his

³⁴ Bahari 190. Maxson JR 985. June 1. A fragment of colonial history. The killing of Jacob Marengo 21.2. *Journal of South African Studies* 247–248. See also Alexander NF 381. 1000. In the Marengo and Namibian History. 1–8.

It must be noted that at least 200 battles took place between the Nama and the Germans, of which at least 30 were with Marengo. Maxson JR 980.1. *Journal of South African Studies* 247–248. Out of Africa.

³⁵ Sixteen additional bars were added to the medals awarded for the specific campaigns during which gross atrocities were committed. The first six were for:

1. Herero land 17 January 1904–5 August 1906.
2. Omaruru 1 January 1904–12 May 1905.
3. Ojibung 19 April 1904.
4. Winterberg 22 May 1904–15 August 1906.
5. Ombakke September 1904–June 1905.
6. Gross-Namaland 27 October 1904–25 May 1906. 18 December–26 December 1906.

How many medals or how many people were awarded bars is unknown as these records were destroyed during the World War II bombing. Sole, T.E. (1968, December) The Südwestafrika Denkmal and the South West African campaigns of 1903–1908' (13) *Military History Journal*, 19–23.

The issue of medals was controversial as many German soldiers and officials perceived them to have been handed out in an unfair manner. The medals should not be for the killings of Jacob Marengo was seen to be given to those who had only devoted a few hours to his capture, while those who had been involved in trying to apprehend him for years were overlooked. Calvert, A.F. (1915) *South West Africa During the German Occupation 1884–1914*. London: London T. Werner Laurie.

³⁶ Sole, T.E. (1968, December) 'The Südwestafrika Denkmal and the South West African campaigns of 1903–1908' 16 (6) *Military History Journal*, 19–23.

³⁷ *Ibid*

in this participation in the campaign against the rebellious natives in South West Africa.³⁷ The government gave its many soldiers with the bronze medal for specifically named campaigns, even some of the most problematic campaigns where genocide and other atrocities had occurred. That it publicly endorsed these specific events and campaigns indicates the State's support of these actions. Again, the Kaiser's public personal and endorsement of the medal supports the evidence of his role in Von Trotha's campaign.

As noted above, Von Trotha's execution is a specific development in the Herero in a newspaper article. The silence of the German authorities in response was tantamount to approval.³⁸ While the general order from the German government now well not have been applied, it was implicit in the instructions Von Trotha received that he was to put down the rebellion by any means fair or foul. Hence Von Trotha's policy may well have been a calculated official instruction that the government simply decided not to publicly issue or endorse.

Even a German government report drawn in 1914–1915 did not rebuke Von Trotha for his conduct in the war. Although the interim report avoided a section on the final conduct of the war, that section was absent in the final report.³⁹ It did not refer to *Verheerungspolitik*.⁴⁰ The Kaiser's directive to amend the extermination order was the only countering of the orders, excluding the use of brutality and ruthlessness by the military toward those in GSWA. Even then, Germany did not retract the order immediately or wholly. When it was withdrawn, it was not because of the brutality employed, but because the Kaiser was under pressure to do so. This pressure was the result of several factors, including that it was impractical to assume German troops kill all the Herero as they needed the population's labour and the brutality was negatively affecting Germany's reputation. Thus, the conduct was clearly both national and state practice. Whatever military culture existed did not create in isolation it developed in the context of a state that accepted and sanctioned such practices a state that explicitly or implicitly expected such conduct.

³⁸ *Ibid*

³⁹ According to Richter-Kas states as early as 1908 on 14 June it is possible to see reports which contain official statements, administrative documents, public statements and court martial transcripts. 1900s. *Principles of German administrative law in colonial administration by Max Hoyer*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 11. That alone was taken against Von Trotha and that he was in fact rewarded as revealing.

⁴⁰ Hall V. (2000) *Rehearsal destruction: Violence, urban and practices of war in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 105.

⁴¹ *Ibid*

our separate rural development sector and the decision to move out was, in fact, overruled and the sector was reabsorbed into the rural credit banks.

However, there was a break from the system for economy class tourists who could not pay a 100 percent government guarantee for the "luxury" class of the Henry Hall, and the decision to drop a 100 percent guarantee is a very important step in the process of making tourism a self-sustaining sector in the economy of Lower Volcan. If this Marshall plan and program should be presented to the Herero people,

CONCLUSION

Introduction

[illegible]

Propaganda toward Hanoi revolt

Paramount Chief Buruko, responding to the official apology of the Federal Republic of Germany given on August 14

Undoubtedly, the same state of affairs held true for other European colonies in Africa. Germany was hardly alone in subjugating indigenous peoples throughout its colonies or brutally quelling rebellion. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the British brutalised the people of present-day Kenya. Neither was Germany alone in subjecting the natives to GSWA's policies. German colonial administrators conducted a murderous campaign against modern-day Tanzanians around the same time as the Herero genocide and routinely employed corporal punishment against the indigenous people of Cameroon and East Africa. Within GSWA, colonial administrators had previously abused non-Herero peoples, most notably the Nama.

However, the Herero's possession of valuable land and cattle, in addition to their unrelenting resistance to German domination, marked them specifically for extinction by their colonial oppressors. Germany's prolonged subjugation of the tribe is evidence of its disgust with the Herero's resistance. Even after the cessation of hostilities between the Herero and GSWA settlers in 1904, Germany continued to ban on Herero ownership of cattle, replaced the traditional Herero administrative structures and severely restricted the Herero to join the formal labour market. All of this occurred despite General von Trobner's departure from GSWA and the arrival of a new governor, Von Lindequist. The persistence of murder, dispossession and oppression even after these fundamental personnel changes in the territory suggests that the lingering intent to quash entirely what also happened to other indigenous peoples in the territory – represented more than a few personalities in GSWA – extended to Berlin.

In addition to murdering, raping and enslaving the Herero, German colonial officials responded to Herero insolence by creating reserves to accommodate the tribe once settlers had acquired their land. The Rhemish missionaries, who disapproved, leaked this plan to the Herero. The reserve strategy provided yet another impetus for the Herero to revolt. In 1904, indeed, as shown in Chapter One, disagreement between the Herero and GSWA administrators over the reserve borders preceded the revolt.

While, prior to 1904, German forces targeted the Herero with corporal punishment, sexual abuse and the threat of extermination, the 1904–05 Herero extermination order, or *vernichtungsbefehl*, that their subjugation became systematic and unrepentant marked a turning point in German colonial policy. Two years later, the pro-attitude had not mellowed, with German officials ordered Herero existence in GSWA the work to be done on sight. In practice, the Germans even exterminated women and children. As argued in Chapter Two, persistent retention of the orders in existence only fuels German denial of the

claims that are less plausible given the discovery of the Blue Book, a British historical document that confirms Germany's intent to exterminate the Herero through starvation, dislocated and outright

these respects, the extermination of the Herero was consistent with European and German attitudes and the intention of making the most devastating endured by a indigenous people in Africa at the turn of the twentieth century.

German South West Africa's unique status among Germany's colonies

As this book has shown, GSWA was more than a distant acquisition of the German state. Rather, Germany considered it a special possession, a *tabula rasa* upon which to build a colonial state. It was a place of focus – among German colonial administrators and the German people at home and abroad – accounts for Germany's excessive expenditure on it, regardless of the costs.

As a consequence, German colonial investment in the territory, as well as the extent of colonial administration, far exceeded that of any other German colony. As early as 1890, German capital dominated the GSWA economy, ensuring the protection of the German government. Germany recognised the value of the territory for its strategic position between South Africa and the Atlantic Ocean, and the potential for its exploitation in Africa combined. The years preceding and following the Herero rebellion witnessed the most intense spending.

In addition to the disproportionate amount of troops to GSWA in comparison to its other colonies. Moreover, African conscripts were not used in GSWA, as they were in other German colonies. The only people recruited to the GSWA territory were German soldiers, and only people recruited to the GSWA territory were German soldiers. The only people recruited to the GSWA territory were German soldiers, and only people recruited to the GSWA territory were German soldiers.

It was not until the outbreak of the Herero rebellion that German soldiers were sent to the territory. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the German government

the scope of any legal protection. Accordingly, he subjected peoples under German colonial control to brutal treatment, the Herero were his — and by extension, the German state's — greatest victims by the end of 1906.

I suddenly chapter's response that — kept at least a suspicion that the general will was being tested by the Kaiser and that he expressed it in a way that was, in the words of the general, "in the form of a written order from the Kaiser's personality, leadership ethos, military background and pattern of brutality in GSWA and beyond that paints a picture of a man capable of, and indeed likely to have ordered, the annihilation of a tribe who stood in the way of his colonial vision and national pride. Moreover, an examination of the Kaiser's conduct at the turn of the twentieth century, including the appointment of Von Trotha after the extermination policy had been announced — a man the Kaiser knew had a violent background in Germany's other African colonies — reveals that the Kaiser carefully orchestrated the Herero genocide in the years preceding the tribe's rebellion.

Even Von Trotha's own denial does not negate the probability that he received his extermination orders from the Kaiser. First, at a minimum, the visible Von Trotha admitted to having free access to the Kaiser's secret, which in any means necessary. Second, the general's reaction to the Kaiser's secret, which he admitted was a "supernatural" experience, is a clear indication that he was not only aware of the Kaiser's secret, but also of the Kaiser's role in the genocide. Yet Von Trotha's denials cannot obscure the communications detailed in chapter three that show that he was in frequent and direct contact with the Kaiser regarding progress in GSWA and that the Kaiser approved of Von Trotha's results and, by extension, his tactics.

However, it was not merely the General who protected the truth emerging about the role of the Kaiser. As suggested above, Von Trotha would have been subject to criminal prosecution for revealing the source of his orders. This was the case under German criminal law, which made the revelation of state secrets or criticism of the Kaiser punishable by imprisonment and loss of pension. State practice in Germany in the early 1900s indicates that the authorities made good on these provisions and indeed jailed at least one German critic of the government in the GSWA.

There is evidence against the Kaiser, as chapter three indicates, he was not only responsible for the genocide, but also for the extermination of the Herero. As chapter three indicates, he was not only responsible for the genocide, but also for the extermination of the Herero.

The German colonialists in the GSWA were not only violent German military culture but also the Herero. The Herero were not only violent German military culture but also the Herero.

First, as a direct result of the Herero's violent German military culture, the Herero were not only violent German military culture but also the Herero. The Herero were not only violent German military culture but also the Herero.

In the end, the Herero were not only violent German military culture but also the Herero. The Herero were not only violent German military culture but also the Herero.

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The Herero genocide as a precursor to the Holocaust

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For example, in 1994 GSWA withdrew its assistance from the German-Jewish Center in Washington, D.C., and its support of its Jewish studies program in East Asia, which German officials at the time thought was helping anti-semitic groups around the world. In 1995, GSWA withdrew its support of the two groups at the University of Maryland, Germany, which were studying the Holocaust in Germany. GSWA also withdrew its support of the German-Jewish Center in Berlin, which was not only did racism against Jews in Germany but was also providing support for genocide from the Holocaust. GSWA also withdrew its support of the German-Jewish Center in Berlin, which was not only did racism against Jews in Germany but was also providing support for genocide from the Holocaust. GSWA also withdrew its support of the German-Jewish Center in Berlin, which was not only did racism against Jews in Germany but was also providing support for genocide from the Holocaust.

Similarly, German colonial authorities during the early 1900s banned interracial marriage, encouraged genetic experimentation on the Herero, and enforced the wearing of ethnic identity symbols, termed *Herero- and Kaffernzeichen* (Herero and Kaffir signs), which differentiated the two groups and was part of efforts to limit the Herero. Thus, while colonial-era surveys did have any value, the history between the two groups is not the same, and the Herero, at the start of the twentieth century, were placed at the forefront of the German state, with a part of the experiment required to carry out the Holocaust 90 years later.

Conclusion

This book has argued, on the basis of historical evidence, that Germany's involvement in the extermination of the Jews was a calculated attempt to achieve a racial and political purpose. It is a book that will be read by all those who are concerned with the Holocaust, and it is a book that will be read by all those who are concerned with the Holocaust.

In the course of the argument several themes have emerged that warrant review.³⁴ German criminal liability at the turn of the twentieth century, and not so much for the Herero genocide, was a *SA* Administration of Economy required to organize its labor, economy, and resources in a way that they a international and domestic political pressures fueled the Herero genocide.³⁵ Germany conducted the Herero genocide in order to acquire *Lebensraum*.

Bachr, P. (ed) (2009), *The portable Hannah Arendt* New York: Penguin.

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1. *Introduction*

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